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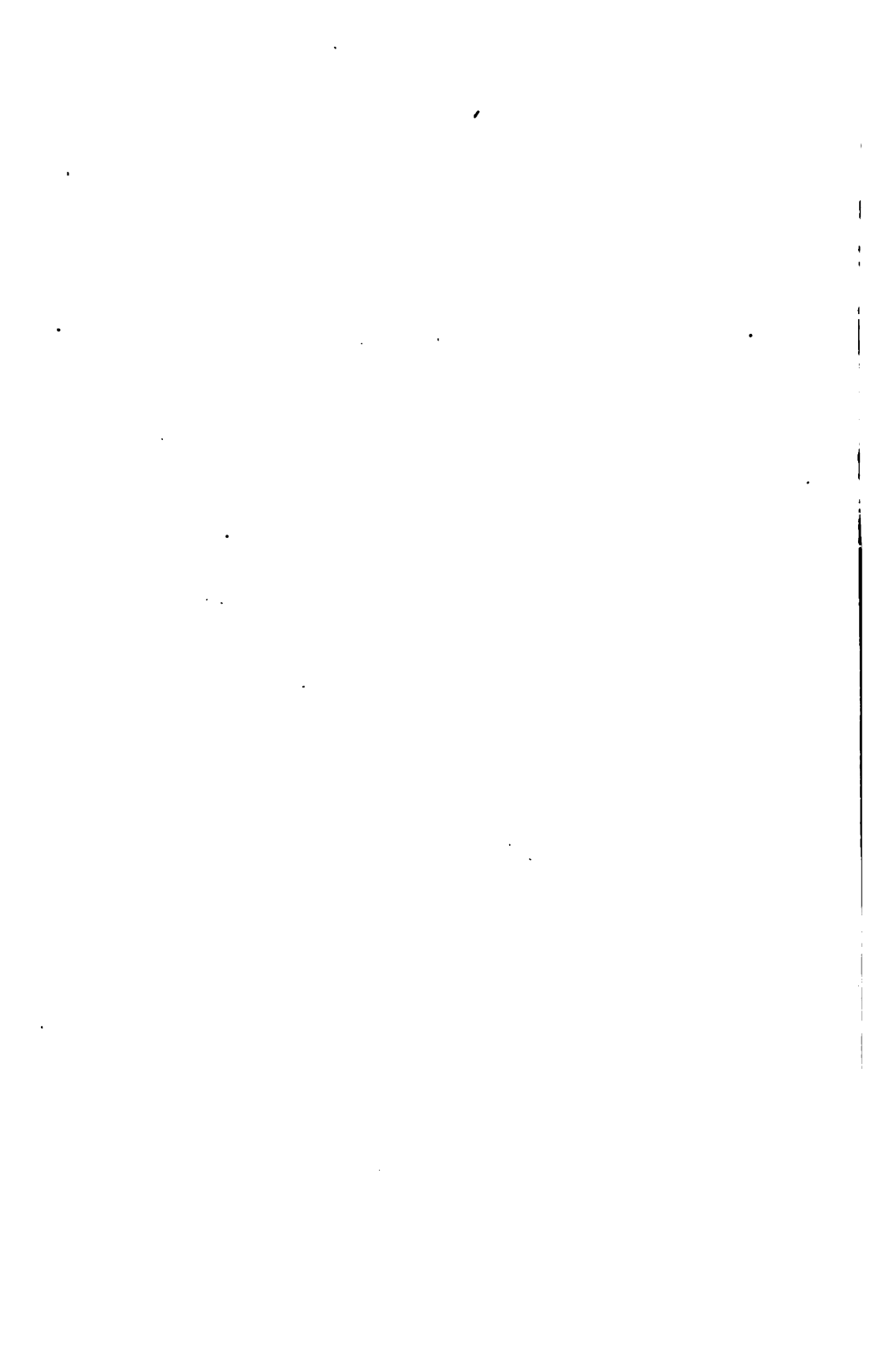
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CHARGES

TO THE CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE

ORDINARY VISITATIONS IN THE YEARS 1843, 1845, 1846.

PRINTED BY R. CLAY, LONDON,

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CHARGES

TO THE

CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATIONS

IN THE YEARS 1843, 1845, 1846.

BY

JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A.

ARCHDEACON.

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, .

EXPLANATORY OF HIS POSITION IN THE CHURCH WITH REFERENCE
TO THE PARTIES WHICH DIVIDE IT.

Cambridge :

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1856.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE three Charges in this volume were not published during the life-time of the Author, as he purposed to illustrate them by various Notes, bearing on the questions discussed in them, but which the pressure of other occupation prevented him from writing.

The text of the first—*The Wants of the Church*,—was revised and printed under his own direction ; and he nearly completed the revision of the second. The third is now printed exactly as it was delivered.

LONDON,

November, 1855.

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ROMANIZING FALLACIES, 1845.

THE ROMANIZING TENDENCIES OF THE AGE, 1846.

INTRODUCTION.

SEVERAL of these Charges were published by their Author; one appeared immediately after his death; three have never been printed. More than one has been extensively read in Scotland and in America, as well as in England. But they were less read than they would have been, if the writer's desire to correct them, and illustrate them with notes, had not delayed the publication of them till the topics of which they treated had lost their immediate interest. Those topics have now acquired another kind of interest; they may be said to constitute the ecclesiastical history of England, during fifteen very eventful years. They belong, however, to the present as well as to the past; none of them are obsolete; they must be understood by clergymen and laymen too, who would not be unfaithful to their callings. Mr. Hare applied his maturest thoughts, and the knowledge he had acquired through many years, to the study and elucidation of them. If his friends complained whilst he was on earth that he was wasting time and health upon discourses that had been spoken and were forgotten, they are now sure that he was working for those who are to come after him, and that the good which the clergy of his Archdeaconry say they

gained by listening to his words may be far less than that which students will derive from reading them.

Some may, perhaps, be deprived of this benefit by prejudices against the writer. There is greater fear lest many should think they are doing him honour by adopting an opinion respecting the purpose of his writings and of his life which has received the sanction of a sincere and cordial admirer. An able and friendly critic,¹ in attempting to give an account of the religious parties which exist in England, connected Archdeacon Hare's name with one on which he bestowed the title of *the Broad Church*. So intelligent an observer must have had some clear apprehension of his own meaning, when he ventured upon the perilous experiment of coining a new nickname which was sure to be eagerly welcomed by hundreds, to whom it would serve the same purpose as the words Puritan, Methodist, Jacobin, Mystic, served their forefathers. The conceptions which have been formed of his meaning by those who have adopted his phrase have certainly been anything but clear and definite. It has been said, for instance, by one critic, that the writer of these Charges belonged to the school of Archbishop Whately; by another, that he followed in the wake of Dr. Arnold; by a third, that he himself aspired to form a school, consisting of restless spirits who were impatient of everything English, and cared only for German literature, German philosophy, German divinity. A still greater number of persons suppose that he was, by nature and inclination, merely a man of taste and letters; that he took up theology in his later years as a professional pursuit; that he wished to introduce into the treatment of it the indifferentism and eclecticism which he had cultivated in another region; that he was im-

¹ Mr. Conybeare, in the "Edinburgh Review."

patient of the accurate distinctions as well as of the fervent zeal which he found in each of our Church parties; that he hoped out of them to construct one of a mild *poco-curante* character, which should be agreeable to refined and scholar-like men, and in which all the roughnesses that have made the Church displeasing to the world should be smoothed and pared away.

The following remarks are written to show how far any of these statements correspond with the facts, especially how far they accord with the spirit of these Charges.

Of all his eminent contemporaries, probably the one with whom he was most rarely brought into personal contact, and whose writings had the least influence in forming his opinions or his character, was the Archbishop of Dublin. That distinguished man and Mr. Hare were educated at different Universities; their pursuits, habits of mind, objects of admiration, were most dissimilar. The one has devoted his great abilities, when they have not been turned in a strictly professional direction, to logic and political economy. Mr. Hare's mind was formed and nourished by philology and poetry. He always professed the most fervent gratitude to Coleridge, whom Dr. Whately probably regards with feelings not far removed from contempt. The chasm between the Platonical and the Aristotelian intellects, (which has been pronounced—perhaps too rashly, but not without considerable warrant from experience—to be impassable,) separated theirs. That the English Church is “broad” enough to comprehend persons so unlike as these two; that she can claim their different talents and qualities of mind for her service; that those who very little understand each other may, nevertheless, help different persons to understand their relation to her better, by helping them to understand themselves better:

this may be joyfully admitted. But the admission seems to go some way towards proving, first, that a Broad Church party, such as has been dreamed of, is impossible; and secondly, that if it were possible, it would be unnecessary, seeing that a body has existed here for about a thousand years, which is considerably more inclusive than the new creation could ever become.

It is a far more reasonable supposition that Mr. Hare learned much from Dr. Arnold. He could hardly help doing so, for they were personal friends, and some of their pursuits and interests were similar. They both devoted much attention to Niebuhr's Roman History; they had a common affection for Niebuhr's distinguished pupil, Chevalier Bunsen. Moreover, Dr. Arnold, beyond all question, *was* the head of an illustrious school, in which he both acquired and communicated all that was strongest and most vital in his ethics and divinity, and through which he acted powerfully on his country. But as Mr. Hare had completed his College course, and had become a teacher himself, before Dr. Arnold was called to be the Master of Rugby, he certainly did not study under him there. Their acquaintance was made when the minds of both were full grown; and in a characteristically frank letter of Dr. Arnold's, published by Mr. Stanley, he tells Augustus Hare that it was a long time before he liked his brother at all. When they came to appreciate each other, their intercourse was maintained on the only footing upon which the intercourse of two men of independent characters and different duties can be maintained, that of exchanging each other's treasures, and respecting each other's peculiarities. Mr. Hare probably revered Dr. Arnold as nearly the most useful man in England, and as having gifts in high exercise, in which he felt himself to be

deficient; but there is not the slightest indication in his writings, that his theology or his philosophy had been materially affected—of course neither had been originally shaped—by this influence. On one question of religious politics, that of the admission of the Jews to Parliament, Mr. Hare certainly accorded with Dr. Arnold's opinions, perhaps adopted them; but as they were at one on that question with five-sixths of the religious world, and at variance with some of their own most intimate friends, it was scarcely a basis for a school, certainly not for a Broad Church school, to rest upon.

It is a far greater temptation, however, to call a party into existence, than to join one of which the colours and watch-words are known. There was a time in Mr. Hare's life, as the writer of the kind and cordial article upon him in the "Quarterly Review" has observed, when he had the opportunity of influencing a certain number of young men. He was for ten years one of the Classical Lecturers in Trinity College. Only one "side" of the College attended his class—he worked under the tutor of that side—and he had few of the opportunities which the master of a public school possessed of knowing the characters and tendencies of his pupils. The field, therefore, was a comparatively narrow one, but it was here, if anywhere, that he must have scattered the seeds out of which his party afterwards developed itself. What seeds he did scatter at that time, and how they germinated, may, perhaps, be gathered from a paper of reminiscences which has been communicated by a clergyman who attended his class rather more than thirty years ago. For a biography, his eminent contemporaries who adorned the College then, and many of whom adorn it still, could supply much more valuable materials; but in reference to the point under con-

sideration, the testimony of a pupil who knew him at Cambridge only in that capacity may be of more direct use.

"You ask me whether I can recal any of the impressions which were made upon me by Hare's lectures? Such a question would sound very singular to most persons whose Freshman's year was passed so long ago as 1823-24. Probably nearly all their remembrances of that time would be more vivid than that of their regular teacher, especially in classics. The mathematical instruction being more new to them, and more directly connected with the place, might have left some traces in their minds; the words of an eminent professor like Sedgwick, who found (and finds still) something much more living than sermons in stones, still deeper traces: yet I should suppose the first look of the College buildings, perhaps the face of the first old schoolfellow who greeted him, would recur more naturally to a man who was looking back over so many years even than these. I cannot, however, offer this excuse for silence. I *do* recollect Hare's class-room exceedingly well. I am often surprised how clearly all the particulars of what passed in it come back to me, when so much else that I should like to preserve has faded away.

"You will suppose, perhaps, that this was owing to some novelty in his method of teaching. You will inquire whether he assumed more of a professorial air than is common in a College, and gave disquisitions instead of calling on his pupils to construe a book? Not the least. We construed just as they did elsewhere. I do not remember his indulging in a single excursus. The subject in our first term was the *Antigone* of Sophocles. We had Hermann's edition of the play, which had not long come out; his entire edition of Sophocles was not then published. We hammered at the words and at the sense. The lecturer seemed most anxious to impress us with the feeling that there was no road to the sense which did not go through the words. He took infinite pains to make us understand the force of nouns, verbs, particles, and the grammar of the sentences. We often spent an hour on the strophe or antistrophe of a chorus. If he did not see his way into it himself, he was never afraid to show us that he did not; he would try one after another of the different solutions that were suggested, till we at least felt which were not available.

"You will think that so much philological carefulness could not have been obtained without the sacrifice of higher objects. How could we discover the divine intuitions of the poet, while we were tormenting ourselves about his tenses? I cannot tell; but it seems to me that I never learnt so much about this particular poem, about Greek dramatic poetry generally, about all poetry, as in that term. If there had been disquisitions about the Greek love of beauty, about the classical and romantic schools, and so forth, I should have been greatly delighted. I should have rushed forth to retail to my friends what I had heard, or have discussed it, and

refuted it as long as they would listen to my nonsense. What we did and heard in the lecture-room could not be turned to this account. One could not get the handy phrases one wished about Greek ideals and poetical unity; but, by some means or other, one rose to the apprehension that the poem *had* a unity in it, and that the poet *was* pursuing an ideal, and that the unity was not created by him, but perceived by him, and that the ideal was not a phantom, but something which must have had a most real effect upon himself, his age, and his country. I cannot the least tell you how Hare imparted this conviction to me; I only know that I acquired it, and could trace it very directly to his method of teaching. I do not suppose that he had deliberately invented a method: in form, as I have said, he was adapting himself exactly to the practice of English Colleges; in spirit, he was following the course which a cultivated man, thoroughly in earnest to give his pupils the advantage of his cultivation, and not ambitious of displaying himself, would fall into. Yet I have often thought since, that if the genius of Bacon is, as I trust it is and always will be, the tutelary one of Trinity, its influence was scarcely more felt in the scientific lecture-rooms than in this classical one;—we were, just as much as the students of natural philosophy, feeling our way from particulars to universals, from facts to principles.

“One felt this method, without exactly understanding it, in reading our Greek play. The next term it came much more distinctly before us. Then we were reading the *Gorgias* of Plato. But here, again, the lecturer was not tempted for an instant to spoil us of the good which Plato could do us, by talking to us about him, instead of reading him with us. There was no *resumé* of his philosophy, no elaborate comparison of him with Aristotle, or with any of the moderns. Our business was with a single dialogue; we were to follow that through its windings, and to find out by degrees, if we could, what the writer was driving at, instead of being told beforehand. I cannot recollect that he ever spoke to us of Schleiermacher, whose translations were I suppose published at that time; if they were, he had certainly read them; but his anxiety seemed to be that Plato should explain himself to us, and should help to explain us to ourselves. Whatever he could do to further this end, by bringing his reading and scholarship to bear upon the illustration of the text, by throwing out hints as to the course the dialogue was taking, by exhibiting his own fervent interest in Plato, and his belief of the high purpose he was aiming at, he did. But to give us second-hand reports, though they were ever so excellent—to save us the trouble of thinking—to supply us with a moral, instead of showing us how we might find it, not only in the book but in our own hearts,—this was clearly not his intention.

“Our third term was spent on one of the early books of Livy. My recollections of these lectures are far fainter than of those which turned on Greek subjects. I have often been surprised that they are so; for the translator of Niebuhr must have devoted, even at that time, great attention to all questions concerning Roman history. Some of the remarks

he made have since come to life in my mind; there was the same abstinence here as elsewhere from disquisition, and from whatever was likely to hinder us from learning by making us vain of what we learnt. But he had not, or at least he did not communicate to us, that vivid sense of locality which seems to have formed the great charm of Dr. Arnold's historical teachings, and which is united with much higher qualities in Carlyle's magnificent epic of the French Revolution. I should fancy, therefore, that his readings on poetry and philosophy would always have been the most interesting and valuable.

"I believe that Hare gave some lectures on the Greek Testament to the students of the second year, but I never heard any of them; nor had I ever any conversation with him on theological subjects. In fact, I had very few opportunities of conversing with him on any subject. I had no introduction to him. I had never heard his name when I entered the College, and I availed myself of the kindness which he was disposed to show me, in common with others, less than I should have done if I had been older and wiser. When we met again many years after, my theological convictions had already been formed by a discipline very different, I should imagine, from any to which he was subjected; they were not altered in substance, nor, so far as I know, even in colour, by any intercourse I had with him. But to his lectures on Sophocles and Plato, I can trace the most permanent effect on my character, and on all my modes of contemplating subjects, natural, human, and divine. How hard it is in these days—in this commercial England—to believe that all ideals of excellence are not mere pretences—mere shadows which men have dreamed of and followed, till they woke up to the dismal pettinesses of actual existence! How history seems to favour the conclusion—what a record it is of the failures and disappointments of great men in the pursuit of honour, patriotism, beauty, truth! How confidently men of the world pronounce that only boys hope to find the end of the rainbow, or the good which cannot be measured and is not the work of fancy; stamping their warning against such vain efforts with the awful warrant of their own past experience! How continually do theories which assume selfishness as the basis of all action and life, start up and scare us with the suspicion, that they are putting into form what we are holding, but do not like to confess! What enormous weight religious men throw into the scale of that practical unbelief,—how they sustain even the dogmas of Rochefoucauld and Helvetius—by their statement of the motives which uniformly govern mankind, with the exception of some inconsiderable fraction of it! Above all, what an evidence, for awhile entirely indisputable, in support of these conclusions, is brought home to the heart of him who has had a revelation of his own evil, who has discovered that in him dwelleth no good! I know for myself, that there have been times of inward strife and horror, when I have hated all ideals and all teachers—Hare among the rest—who had ever spoken of them as if they were not delusions. But I am certain that if I had continued in that hatred, I

should have lost altogether the sense of my own evil, and should only have retained St. Paul's words as the utterance of a dogma, not of a fact. Thanks be to God who has forced me to acknowledge that there is an ideal, in which and after which man is created; an ideal which explains and justifies all the ideals men have perceived, and followed, and found themselves unable to reach; an ideal which tells us what our sin is; an ideal which can lift us out of it! And thanks be to God for any teachers He has raised up to uphold that faith in a generation particularly inclined to abandon it, and so to sink lower, as it might rise higher, than all which have gone before it. Hare, I believe, had this vocation. He must have been prepared for it by some special discipline, which we who profited by it may not be exactly able to understand. We have a hard enough battle, but I have sometimes thought that theirs must have been in many respects harder, whose boyhood was passed in the stirring years between Trafalgar and Waterloo; and who in their manhood, when they might have expected to see the fruits of the seeds which had been sown by Spanish and German wars of independence, found themselves amidst the flatness and foppery which lasted to the end of the reign of George IV. Then, when it was bitterness even to think of foreign politics; when domestic politics were absorbed in the one question, whether a few Roman Catholic gentlemen should or should not be allowed to add their quota to parliamentary loquacity and electoral corruption; then, when the spiritual movement of Methodism had subsided, and seemed to have left behind it only a cumbrous religious machinery; then, when so genial a writer as Sir Walter Scott, so free from the affectations of his own time, so full of sympathy with past times, could only maintain his ascendancy over his contemporaries on the condition that he never affronted them with a single type of heroical excellence; then, when so acute and charitable an observer as Miss Austen, scarcely introduced into her exquisite sketches one being, lay or clerical, male or female, who had ever breathed, even in dreams, any air purer and freer than that of the pump-room;—in such a time there must have been an unspeakable sinking of heart, and a terrible questioning whether all which had been told in other times of a good that the senses could not judge of, and that gold could not buy, did not belong wholly to those days. The Bible surely might have satisfied that demand; but how possible is it for a mercantile age to find in the Bible nothing but the endorsement of certain accommodation-bills that it has drawn, the worth of which rests not on a real faith, but on an imaginary credit! I have spoken as John Bulls and clergymen are wont to speak of the German literature and philosophy in which Hare is supposed to have taken a great interest; have spoken of them, I mean, with much fear and little knowledge. But if that literature and philosophy were instrumental in sustaining him against the influences of English society, if they prevented him from becoming the slave, or, which is the same thing, the leader, in some one of its circles, he may have owed it to them that he did not lose his fervent love for the thoughts and language of Shakespeare,

Hooker, and Milton; that the Old and New Testament became dearer and dearer to him every year that he lived.

"Before I finish these hasty and trifling memoranda, I ought to say that Hare's Plato lectures did me another service, closely connected with that of which I have spoken. They taught me that there is a way out of party opinions; a principle which is not a compromise between them, but which is implied in both, and of which each is bearing witness. Hare did not tell us this. If he had, he would have done us little good. Plato himself does not say it; he makes us feel it; and his interpreter was only useful as he led us to his author, and did not put himself between us and him. But Hare's mind was clearly penetrated with the conviction,—his after life, to whatever work he was called, must have been the acting out of it. If he tried to form a party afterwards, we who were his pupils could not have become members of it till we forgot all that we had learnt from him. If it was an eclectic party or school, *that* we could have less sympathy with than with either of those of which it must have been the negation. I have known very few of those who attended his classes at Trinity, so that I am not the least able to speak of the influence he exercised generally. Those few were men singularly unlike in their opinions, belonging to different sections of the Church, most of them suspicious of Hare's theology. They retained, however, a fervent affection for him, and I think they had so far suffered from their training, that no one of them could be recommended to the editor of any religious journal as a safe roadster, who would run without danger of starting and gibing in a party harness."

If Mr. Hare did not seek to be the founder of a new school in England at all, it is not necessary to prove that that school was not an Anglo-Germanic one. But as the writer of the above notes has alluded to the influence which German books and German thinkers may have had over his mind, in the interval between his leaving College as a pupil and returning to it as a teacher, a few words on that subject seem to be called for.

From very early youth till he left this world, he felt this influence, and rejoiced to confess how much he owed to it. He was taken to Weimar by his parents when he was a child; and during a winter which he spent there, when illness hindered him from attending to other studies, he first learnt German. Weimar had other associations for him besides

those which have made it inseparable from the names of Goethe and Schiller. He had reason to know that the Duchess who honoured them, and whom they honoured, was not merely a friend of great men ; she paid the kindest and most soothing attentions to his mother during a period of sickness and blindness which preceded her death. His eldest brother, who gave him his first initiation into Greek, was also an excellent German scholar, and no doubt used his knowledge of that, as of other modern literature, to make his lessons more lively. Indeed, it would not have been easy for Francis Hare, who combined the rarest literary accomplishments with the most agreeable social qualities,—who was equally popular with scholars, men of the world, and children,—not to inspire one whom he loved with interest in everything in which he took interest himself. Julius Hare, therefore, could scarcely have avoided German studies even if he had desired to avoid them. But he could not feel such a desire, because the more he engaged in those studies, the more clear and intelligible his English books and his classical books became to him. He learned from these foreign teachers the intrinsic worth of the national treasures which so many of us value only for some *extrinsic* peculiarities, or for the food that they supply to our vanity. He learnt to prize the bequests of the old world as helps in understanding the changes of times, and in apprehending that which does not change and is not of time ; so escaping from the pedantry and frivolity of the merely antiquarian or dilettante scholar. His readings at this time were chiefly among those German poets who had fought their way through a great many opposing tendencies, from each of which they had derived some lessons ; through the French habits of the age of Frederick ; through the book-learning of their own professors ; through

the wild and rhapsodical sentiment which was the reaction against both. These writers had felt and confessed that there is an order and harmony somewhere, which men's confusions have not been able to destroy, and that Art and Letters are precious only as they help us in discovering it. The other class of writers, the pure philosophers, he honoured because they appeared to him to have grappled honestly and earnestly with the question in which all men are interested, whether the spiritual world is merely a fantastic world, or whether it is the substantial ground of that which our senses tell us of.

No doubt there were perils in both these kinds of study. The one may lead a man to build what has been called a palace of art, and to inhabit it, till some rough blasts of actual sorrow shake it to pieces. Those who engage in the other task may receive such delight from the process of seeking for an invisible kingdom, as to lose all care whether they find it, till at last weariness overtakes them, and they are content to rest in any plausible theory about the object of their strivings, as if that *were* the object of them. Hare may have been liable, at different times of his life, to each of these temptations, but he had much to assist him in overcoming them. His aunt, the widow of Sir William Jones,—worthy by her clear sense, unusual cultivation, and firm principle, to have shared the affection and labours of such a man,—had great influence over his mind and character. She told him distinctly that she wished his German books were burnt. He regarded her opinion with the deference which an imaginative and impulsive nature pays to one of sterner stuff, even when there are no strong bonds of affection and gratitude between them; but this was a point which he could not yield, because he was convinced

that he should be transgressing the spirit of her advice if he had conformed to it in the letter. He explained to her that his patriotism and his faith were in danger, from the materialism which in England was claiming every domain of thought and even religion itself as its subject, and that the Germans, whom she dreaded, had at least preserved his intellect, and in some degree his conscience, from this infection. He wrote to her in January, 1820—"As for my German books, I hope, from my heart, that the day will never arrive when I shall be induced to burn them, for I am convinced that I never shall do so, unless I have first become a base slave of Mammon, and a mere vile lump of selfishness. I shall never be able to repay an hundredth part of the obligations I am under to them, even though I were to shed every drop of my blood in defence of their liberties. For to them I owe the best of all my knowledge, and if they have not purified my heart, the fault is my own. Above all, to them I owe my ability to believe in Christianity, with a much more implicit and intelligent faith than I otherwise should have been able to have done; for without them I should only have saved myself from dreary suspicions, by a refusal to allow my heart to follow my head, and by a self-willed determination to believe, whether my reason approved of my belief or not. This question has so often been a subject of discussion, that I have determined, once for all, to state my reasons for remaining firm in my opinion."

But, perhaps, the counsels which he could not follow were not without their use. They may have reminded him of a truth, which he became deeply sensible of afterwards, that an Englishman, though he need not be a materialist, must be a practical man; that no education can be good for him which does not develop his practical qualities; that though

he becomes a very miserable creature when he acts without thinking, he becomes even more feeble and contemptible when he aspires to think without acting.

These lessons were also deepened by the influence of relations nearer to his own age. His fourth brother, Marcus, to whom he was most fondly attached, though he did not share much in his literary tastes and pursuits, had that kind of character which was sure to act most powerfully upon him: the clear manly sense, warm heart, and resolute purpose of an English sailor and Christian gentleman. And if intercourse with this brother were not a sufficient protest against un-English tendencies and literary self-indulgence, that protest came in another form from the one who shared all his thoughts and aspirations. Augustus Hare, who was a fellow of New College, had known and felt some of the perils of a life among books. He triumphed over them, and devoted himself to the work of a tutor, before he felt himself qualified for the work of a parish priest. He was thoroughly loyal to Oxford; an admirer of Aristotle's ethics; full of reverence for the past; capable of speculation, but esteeming it for the sake of action; reverencing all forms of beauty, and moral goodness as the perfection of beauty; chivalrous, even military in his tastes; exercising a powerful influence over young men, even more through the nobleness and gentleness of his character, than by any words which he spoke to them; eager for the well-being of all countries, especially of that lovely one in which he was born, and in which he found a grave; but connecting all with England, counting those happy whom God called to fight for her in the field, and those highly honoured whom He permitted to work in any lowly office for the peasants in her villages. If his mind, and that of Julius had not had an original difference of structure,

and if they had not been quite differently trained, they would, probably, not have blended so well together. The book¹ which contained the results of their common meditations was called by a name which showed how little they aspired to lay down decrees upon any questions of which they spoke. But in escaping from that charge, they have fallen under another, which would have appeared to them still heavier. These writers, it has been said, suppose truth to be mere guess work. An observation more curiously inapplicable to the spirit and character of both brothers was certainly never hazarded. Because they were so confident that truth is fixed and eternal—that it is not the creature of men's notions and speculations—that a man must seek for it as hid treasure, not refer it to his own narrow rules of judgment—therefore they thought it an exercise useful in itself, certain of reward, to trace the vestiges of it in every direction, to grasp even the skirts of its garment, and if they missed it, still to testify that it was ready to declare itself to more faithful inquiries. They believed that there was a ladder set upon earth, and reaching to heaven; that the voice of God may be heard in the calm midnight, nay even in the open day, by those who are at the lowest step of this ladder,

¹ "The Guesses at Truth" was not, however, the first literary undertaking in which they worked together. Augustus Hare had been scandalized by an ignorant attempt to throw doubts upon the fact of our Lord's resurrection. He answered the book in "A Series of Letters by a Layman:" the part of those letters which referred to German authorities was written by Julius. It is worthy of record that this book, which was an able specimen of the books of evidence most popular in England—which was expressly in answer to German neologians, or their English imitators—which was praised at the time in the "British Critic," and might have procured for either brother a good ecclesiastical reputation, was published anonymously when both were laymen. When Julius afterwards wrote books which were less likely to recommend him to the religious public or to the ecclesiastical authorities, his name appeared at full length on the title-page.

who have only a bed of earth, with a stone for their pillow, if they will reverently apply their ears to listen, and ask to have it distinguished from the noises of which the air is full, and which try to drown it or mock it. These guesses have cherished this conviction in the hearts of many who have needed it, and who would have suffered infinite loss if they had been without it. And they have led not a few to look further still; to ask whether there is not a Centre of all God's revelations, one in whom He created the world, one in whom He has enlightened men, one in whom He has made himself perfectly known. The words, "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life," have come to them as at once the encouragement and the satisfaction of their guesses. If this result is not what our doctors of the law, our masters in Israel, desire, it may nevertheless be one which He does not disapprove, who in every part of nature, and in every human relation, found parables of his kingdom, and openings through which his disciples might have glimpses of it.

In this book, especially in the later editions of it, in which Julius Hare is the chief spokesman, German authors are largely referred to. But the book is essentially and characteristically English. The language is singularly pure of foreign admixtures. English authors are evidently those in which the writers most desire to interest their readers. Burke, with his strong national conservatism, is one of their chief favourites. Among their contemporaries, they indulge their private affection, and show what is the habit of their mind, by praising Landor less for his exquisite scholarship and his Italian lore, than for his pure and beautiful English. Wordsworth, who disliked German poetry, and is in general despised by those who admire it, they speak of with fervent affection. He was dear to them, because he had taught

them to love better their own soil, and the peasants who work on it ; to believe that, for us, Westmoreland has more poetry in it than Arcadia.

And the sympathies of both brothers were awake to mediæval forms and virtues, though they honoured Cervantes, and held that the nineteenth century, as much as the sixteenth, has a work which is altogether different from that of the thirteenth or fourteenth. Augustus expressed an almost passionate admiration for the Broad Stone of Honour, which exhibited a type of character essentially like his own. Julius knew and loved the writer of that book, who he found had the best possible right to speak of Bayard and St. Louis, because he had drunk into their spirit, and would have been what they were. He never ceased to remember with deep gratitude his intercourse with Mr. Digby, and the lessons he had learnt from him ; yet at the very time that he had most opportunity for cultivating that intercourse, he was translating a book of severe critical history with another friend, whose clear, penetrating intellect and resolute spirit of investigation he appreciated as highly as he possibly could the ardour of the believer in all legends of knightly heroism.

Catholicism of *this* kind will seem to some most alien from that Catholicism which they demand of a divine ; they will say that a man whose sympathies were so general, could not hold the definite faith of a Churchman. And another class will ask with displeasure, what a Protestant was good for, who could derive strong impressions from a writer like Mr. Digby—a writer whose heroes were always drawn from what he called the Ages of Faith, and who came at last to regard the Reformation as the disturber and subverter of faith. Such Catholics and such Protestants will therefore

probably agree in the opinion that Hare loved Madonnas and old buildings, and therefore the times which produced them, —Philology, and therefore the age and country in which it has been most vigorously pursued; that his Theology was merely an accidental graft upon these, his proper and original though sometimes rather discordant, tastes. This opinion will, no doubt, be strengthened in many minds by the fact, that he always spoke of Samuel Taylor Coleridge as one of his chief teachers, not in human studies only, but in the one which chiefly concerned him as a clergyman. He cannot be suspected, as many have been, of resorting to Coleridge because, at his *restaurant*, German cookery was adapted to weak English stomachs, not yet prepared to receive it in its genuine forms; for Hare knew the taste of German dishes, and had partaken of them fearlessly. But a more plausible reason has been assigned for the language in which some clergymen as well as laymen learnt to speak of a man whose name was ordinarily tabooed in literary as well as in religious circles. They had acquired, it has been said, something more of philosophy than their contemporaries; they had discovered that there are certain principles which cannot be set aside even by the longest tradition or the highest authority. There were, however, certain dogmas received by tradition, sanctioned by authority, the rejection of which was on many accounts inconvenient. To procure a reconciliation of the apparent contraries was highly desirable. Coleridge—so these reporters say—in windy harangues, addressed to all who visited his chamber at Highgate, announced the possibility of such a reconciliation; and even gave hints, which answered the purpose of his hearers the better for not being understood, about the method of effecting it. These hints, it is added, vague and unsub-

stantial as they were, yet acquired consistency and solidity when they were combined with the various motives which induced Englishmen, studious of ease and respectability, to arrive at the sage's conclusion. He himself, in the meantime, we are told with considerable exultation and unquestionable truth, gained little by his orthodox eloquence. Devout men heard of it with more fear than satisfaction; the pension of a hundred a-year which had been conferred on him by royal bounty was withdrawn; he owed more to the generosity of an unknown London surgeon, than to all the nobles and prelates in the land.

No doubt there have been, and are, persons who greatly desire to find in some ingenious philosophical scheme a justification for opinions which they have taken by inheritance, and which they think it safer not to abandon. No doubt some of this class did frequent Coleridge's soirées occasionally—nay, even put themselves to the trouble of reading passages from his books. But it is certain also that every one of them returned from him with disappointment, even with indignation; for they discovered that he made the rudest demands upon their conscience and reason; insisted upon their feeling the ground at their feet, and not assuming upon hearsay that there ought to be such a ground; made it his very business to bring into discredit the kind of security which they had expected him to endorse. What use could be made of such an oracle? How absurd to consult it, when clever men like Le Maistre were at hand, who could bring forward the most plausible apology for every opinion that had ever been held under priestly sanction since the world began; sure to leave behind them disciples more advanced than themselves, who would find apologies for every crime that has been committed under priestly sanction till now, or that may be committed till

the world shall end. How continually one hears the compassionate, patronizing exclamation, "Poor Coleridge!" from persons who have found the seller of the genuine article which they had vainly expected to obtain from him. And though this phrase is joined, of course, with others about "transcendental, mystical stuff," it is clear from the faces of the speakers, that they could well have endured what they did *not* understand in his discourse or his books; but that, now and then a phrase or passage made itself painfully intelligible to them, and produced a half-awakening in souls which preferred to be asleep.

There were spirits of a different order altogether from these who also experienced ultimately a discontent from intercourse with Coleridge, which was bitterer than theirs, because far nobler. They had felt for him the passionate devotion which earnest and generous minds always feel towards one from whom they have received great spiritual benefits; their devotion had become idolatrous, and they demanded from the idol that which it could not bestow. In that crisis of painful uncertainty, when these disciples were reluctantly confessing to themselves that the seer had not cleared up all doubts, and solved all mysteries, if any one of the kind friends who are always at hand for such services, brought forth weaknesses which the worshippers had resolved not to see—if it should be suggested to men full of energy and strong will, and eagerness for action, that, in all these qualities, the being to whose intellect they had done homage was sadly deficient,—who cannot predict the result? The kind friends did a necessary work. The idols of a man, as well as the idols of an age, whether they be of clay or of gold, must be utterly abolished. But let him who is in haste to undertake the task of an iconoclast, either on the small or the great scale, wait at

least till he has read and pondered that essay on Voltaire—full of the deepest wisdom and the solemnest warnings—which he will find in Mr. Carlyle's *Miscellanies*.

There were, however, some whom these arguments and insinuations could not affect; because they neither resorted to Coleridge in hopes of obtaining a philosophical excuse for being Christians and Churchmen, nor wished to find in him a perfect guide. They had been led by strange paths into the belief that man is not an animal carrying about a soul, but a spiritual being with an animal nature, who, when he has sunk lowest into that nature, has still thoughts and recollections of a home to which he belongs, and from which he has wandered. They had felt as if these were especially the discoveries of their own time, as if they had arrived at them by processes which their fathers did not know. But these discoveries stopped short just at the point where they became most interesting and personally important. Where is that home of which we have these reminiscences? how can we ever come to it? They heard from some teachers eloquent words about abysses and eternities. The assurance that these are about us all, made them more eager to know if man's home is in them, or if there is nothing in them but darkness. They heard from others that the age of Theology had passed, and the age of Science begun. If Science has become Omniscience, can it not interpret that cry for a Living God which still goes up from human hearts whether there is a Theology or not? It was not, therefore, because these weary seekers wanted a compromise between the old and the new, because they were afraid to follow truth whithersoever it led them, but because they were sure that unless they pushed their inquiries further, they should be obliged to retrace their steps, to unlearn all

they had learnt, to sink back into materialism, to believe in Mammon—though they believed nothing else—that they welcomed the voice of a man who said to them, “What you are feeling after is that Father’s house which the men of the old time spoke of. It was not a cunningly-devised fable of theirs, that their Father and yours is seeking to bring back his children to himself: these struggles and failures of yours confirm their words.” Beneath all strange mystical utterances—beneath those tetrads which might or might not be useful as scientific expositions of a truth lying beyond the senses and the intellect—they heard this practical message from his lips, they saw that he could not have received it or proclaimed it unless the whole man within him had passed through a tremendous convulsion. If, when they obtained a more accurate knowledge of his history, they discovered that it was not merely his reason which had demanded God as its foundation, but that he had been compelled by the feebleness of his will, by the sense of moral evil, to cry out to that God, in the old language, “Be merciful to me a sinner,” this information could not make them reject either the lore or the teacher; it united both more closely to their own bitter experiences and brotherly sympathies.

This, or something like this, was the reason of that unshaken attachment which Julius Hare felt for Coleridge while he was in the world, and after he had left it; this was the reason why he so thankfully acknowledged him as a theological teacher. Unless he had found such a teacher, all his “Guesses after Truth” in various directions would have wanted that object and centre towards which they were always pointing; there would have been no blessing from his strivings for himself or for his country. When that help

had been given, he was bound to unceasing gratitude ; but he was not bound to take Coleridge as a pope,—he was bound to reject him and every man in that capacity. As a philological critic, even as a commentator upon Scripture, he did not esteem him very highly ; from many of his conclusions on divinity, as on other subjects, he entirely dissented. But he owed it to him, probably more than to any other man, that he was able to trace the path which connects human learning with divine, the faith of one age with the faith of another, the sense of man's grandeur with the sense of his pettiness and sinfulness. He did not learn from him that the Middle Ages might be pardoned for their idolatries because they produced magnificent Gothic cathedrals, and because the thoughts that were born in them found their expression in the pictures of Raffaele and Michael Angelo ; but he did learn to recognise in all cathedrals and all pictures a testimony *against* idolatry, a witness that man is made in the likeness of God, and that he is not to make God in the likeness of himself. He did not learn to pardon the strifes and the unbelief which have followed the Reformation because we owe to it our philology and our criticism ; but he did learn that the Reformation has removed the great obstacle to unity, by holding forth the actual belief and knowledge of God, as possible for all men ; he did learn that philology and criticism, which become dangerous when they are not free, will, if they are honestly used, be found instruments—subordinate, but still most precious instruments—in restoring faith in God's word, and fellowship among his children.

The commencement of Mr. Hare's strictly theological career is marked by his sermons on "The Children of Light," and "The Law of Self-sacrifice," and "The Sin

against the Holy Ghost." The first was preached before the University of Cambridge, in 1828, the two others in Trinity Chapel, in 1829 and 1832. Any one who will be at the pains of reading these discourses, will perceive how naturally the line of thought in them all flows out of that which has been traced in the "Guesses at Truth." There is no violent transition from the literature to the divinity, no effort to forget the one for the sake of the other. The sermon on "The Children of Light," starts from the assumption that those whom the preacher addresses are spiritual beings, that the light is about them, that they have been brought into it, that to walk in darkness is to renounce their birthright. The writer had not been so long in Cambridge without knowing that some of those who were listening to him were living thoughtless, animal, sinful lives; that they needed to be *turned* from darkness to light. He was not the less eager on that account to apprise them of their true position. The strongest feeling on his mind at this time seems to have been, that a true life is a continuous life; that sin causes the breaks and dislocations which sever the child from the man; that a true conversion is not a disturbance of order, but a restoration of it. He may have seen the need, in a later part of his life, of bringing out more strongly the other side of the truth, that which our popular and exciting preachers often seem to regard as the whole of it; but he never retracted or even modified the doctrine of this sermon. That on "The Law of Self-sacrifice" is even more characteristic of him, and a better commentary on his previous as well as his subsequent writings. Here he encounters the selfish theory of morals in no partial half-hearted way. He at once announces the opposite law as the one which binds together all things in earth and heaven, as that which affords

the only explanation of all the great facts of history, of all that has produced any real effect upon mankind in poetry, art, science. Selfishness he traces, indeed, everywhere : but as the disturbing, destructive force ; the enemy of the order of the world, not its principle ; that which the Son of God by his sacrifice came to subvert, because He came to renew and restore all things. Theology is here, as elsewhere, the necessary climax as well as the necessary foundation of all his other thoughts ; he does not want to reconcile them with it ; it is the reconciliation of them. The sermon on " The Sin against the Holy Ghost " is in strict harmony with these, inasmuch as it connects the common daily life of the English student in the nineteenth century with the principles set forth in Scripture, even with the most awful sentences in it. These are not used to produce a fearful impression upon the nerves, but to keep the conscience alive to its continued peril as well as to its mighty treasures and responsibilities—to the truth, that all true and righteous deeds, by whomsoever they are enacted, are the work of the Holy Spirit now as in other days ;—so that in attributing them to an evil source, we are committing a sin of the same kind with that of the Pharisee, when he said of the Son of God, " He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the chief of the devils."

There is no occasion to contrast these sermons with others which are wont to be delivered in College pulpits : but they may be referred to as affording a hint of that union of human and divine knowledge, of which one could wish that the students in the English halls of learning should be perpetually reminded ; no effort being made to warp the one into consent with the other, but each unfolding itself naturally out of the other, as they must do if it is true that the Son of God is also the Son of Man. And they serve also to

show that the preacher had not sunk the man in the collegian; that he was in sympathy with the world of nature and the world of human beings; that he never liked to regard the *cloister* as something set up in opposition to the *crowd*.

It was after he had preached these sermons, and before he had entered upon the duties of his parish, that he visited Rome for the first time. Some of his Protestant friends, who knew his love of art, his affection for Mr. Digby, and the personal sympathy which he had with the Eternal City, trembled for the effect that it might produce upon his mind. Their fears were groundless. Rome was all, and more than all, that he had imagined. It was made still dearer to him than it would have been for its own sake, because he formed in this visit his friendship with the Chevalier Bunsen—a friendship which was as close and hearty as those which men begin in their boyhood, and proved more lasting. But the splendid vision left him a stronger Protestant than it found him. “I saw the pope,” he used to say, “apparently kneeling in prayer for mankind; but the legs which kneeled were artificial; he was in his chair. Was not that sight enough to counteract all the æsthetical impressions of the worship, if they had been a hundred times stronger than they were?” Of course, those who are used to such ceremonies would have regarded this one with perfect calmness; a skilful apologist would probably have been able to prove that artificial legs contain a moral and mystery which are quite wanting in the natural legs. This Mr. Hare fully believed. The moral and mystery of the whole system came out, it appeared to him, in that one characteristic symbol. He was told, no doubt, that while he stood outside of the Church, these things, and many others, must seem incomprehensible to him; that if he were once received within it, his eyes would become used

to its lights, and his lungs to its atmosphere, and that all discords would be felt as parts of the harmony. He did not dispute that prophecy—reason and experience were both in favour of it. Those whom he regarded as far superior to himself—such men as Frederick Schlegel, and others still more honoured and dear in his own land—had become habituated to falsehoods which they once abhorred. He had no right to give himself credit for a moral sense which they had not exhibited. Therefore he said to himself, asking God to strengthen and defend the resolution, “My soul, enter not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united.” He did not, however, come back to England with any purpose of making speeches against the artificial legs which Romanism requires. He did come back with the hope and prayer that whatever artificial legs we are leaning upon in our Church, whether they are of home or foreign manufacture, might be cast away, and that we might be taught to worship Him who is a Spirit, in spirit and in truth.

It was while he was dwelling upon this thought in reference to his future work, that the character and writings of Luther became his especial study. Some have expressed their astonishment that a man with an ardent love of beauty, whose tastes and education must have inclined him to the æsthetical side of religion, should have become the passionate admirer of the coarse Reformer of Saxony. The few hints which have been given respecting the course of his moral and spiritual discipline may diminish their wonder. His love of beauty had always been connected with the pursuit of an ideal which man is meant to seek, and which raises him above himself. He had learnt and proclaimed the doctrine, that he cannot be raised above himself unless he renounces

himself. Luther had cried aloud, " We have no righteousness of our own ; to claim any, is our wretchedness, the secret of our guilt, the cause of our despair. Christ's righteousness is the only righteousness we can have ; by believing in that, we become clothed with it, it is in the truest sense ours ; by believing in that, we rise out of our evil, we become justified before God, we have peace with Him." Here Mr. Hare, discovered the great practical divinity which unites the ideal and the actual ; which proves that the giving up of self is the deliverance from sin—the beginning of that resurrection which is only attained, the Apostle affirms, when a man casts away his own righteousness altogether, and is found in Christ. Mr. Hare could never admit that Luther was too vehement in the assertion of this principle, that he did not surround it with sufficient limitations. The danger to morality lay, it seemed to him, in any qualification or half-statement of it, in permitting any loophole through which self-seeking or self-glorying might creep in. That there had been a multitude of such loopholes in all the systems which had attempted to formalize the Lutheran doctrine,—that the very phrase " justification by faith " may become one of the widest of them, if it is disjoined from belief in a Person,—this he fully admitted. But the remedy, he conceived, lay not in what are called guarded statements, or middle ways, but in the bold, full proclamation of the doctrine as it presented itself to Luther, when he rose from his anguish and learnt to say, " I believe in the forgiveness of sins ;" as it stood out in his lectures, when he was exalting Paul above Aristotle and Aquinas ; as it embodied itself in the theses, wherein he laid the axe to the root of Indulgences, and affirmed that it was good for a man to have his sins punished and damned, that he might be delivered out of them ; as it broke forth in

simple, burning words, when he was rousing the heart of Europe, not with the tidings of a new gospel, but of an actual Christ, in whom they might believe as their fathers had done. In these great facts of history he saw the beginning of the emancipation of the nations and of the Church, laid in the actual emancipation of the consciences of those who entered into the Reformer's meaning and accepted his good news. Holding this belief, what signified it if even some of the best of Luther's contemporaries,—such men as Sir Thomas More, whom Hare specially loved—counted him a heretic and disturber of the peace? What signified it if contemporaries of his own whom he highly respected,—the ablest representatives of the scholastical and the ecclesiastical learning of other days, as well as of the learning of the Renaissance,—such men as Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Mill, Mr. Hallam, agreed in disliking the man of the people, and believing all calumnies against him? What was credit with scholars and divines, to the interests of scholarship, of humanity, of divinity, which he thought were involved in the defence of Luther and of his principles?

If his zeal in this cause showed how readily he could cast away all care of personal reputation, it showed also how highly he prized all distinctions which were not the inventions of the schools, but had their ground in the being of man and in the relation of man to his Creator. The distinction of the flesh and of the Spirit, of the Law which condemns and of the Gospel which speaks freedom and peace, of the man according to the law of death and the man according to the spirit of life in Christ Jesus,—these are the subtlest which divinity presents to us. The materialist laughs at them, the mere intellectual man thinks they can have nothing to do with practice, and at all events must not

be presented to the multitude. But, seeing they belong not to books and to formulas, but to man, he found in these the deliverance at once from materialism and from technicalities; he held that every beggar has an interest in them, and that the Spirit of God would teach every beggar to apprehend them. In *this* theology he believed there lies the best prospect for the illumination of all our faculties, as well as the groundwork of a true human morality, not depending on accidents of times and seasons—not receiving its shape from circumstances, but compelling circumstances to receive their shape from it.

The Lutheran doctrine may not be all that we need; it may concern our personal life more than our life as portions of a commonwealth; it may appear to interfere with the unity of the body, by the immense worth with which it invests each member of the body. But Mr. Hare was convinced that if we lose it, we lose all hope of rising to a higher level, we must certainly sink to a lower one; that though Christ may seem to be proclaimed in it only as the emancipator of the individual conscience, He is implicitly recognised in it as the centre of the whole fellowship in heaven and earth. And it should be observed, that in the sermons on the “Victory of Faith,” and the “Mission of the Comforter,” which present these *human* distinctions in a living and practical form, they are always grounded upon those deeper distinctions in the *divine* nature which are the subjects of the Catholic creeds. In no discourses, though they may profess ever so much exclusive orthodoxy, are the persons of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, and their essential unity, more constantly assumed as the foundation of moral order and of Christian love.

It would appear, then, that Mr. Hare’s claims to be a

"Broad Churchman," in any of the senses which that name has been supposed to bear, were more than questionable. He did not seek to conciliate men of letters by rejecting theological men and theological principles that were obnoxious to them. He defied men of letters, by asserting the importance of the principles which they most stumbled at—by upholding the champions whom they most disliked. He did not choose the objects of his affection among his contemporaries, or in past days, for their softness; he preferred those who had strong and definite purposes, even if they expressed them vehemently and passionately. He retained, indeed, his reverence for the gentleness which belongs to the true knight, and which is the best characteristic of the bravest Englishman. He believed a perfect Christian must be a perfect gentleman; but the man who speaks roughly, almost savagely, from the burning spirit in him, had, it seemed to him, more of the elements of this character, than he who, under a surface of the most polished marble, hides a cold and hollow heart. Mr. Hare, therefore, had at least as much temptation to become a partisan as an adjuster of parties. Why he was not the first—in what sense he coveted, in what sense he utterly repudiated, the other character—a few remarks on the circumstances of the English Church, at the time he became one of her working ministers, may help to explain.

During the years he passed at College there had been a lull in the ecclesiastical world. Many influences—that of Bishop Heber was perhaps the most widely felt—had contributed to bring the "Evangelical School" and the "Old Church School" into a better understanding with each other. The language which had been denounced in the beginning of the century as enthusiastical or methodistical, was beginning to

mingle with phrases of another kind, if it did not supplant them, in the discourses of dignitaries; the rector who had the temper of the last age, often industriously selected his curate from the ranks which supplied the popular and exciting preachers to this. There was a change perceptible even in the persons who kept their places in those ranks most faithfully. They spoke much more than they had been used to speak about the importance of a State recognition of Christianity. Without absolutely renouncing the fellowship of Dissenters in the Bible Society and elsewhere, the alliance became cold and suspicious. Under the pretext of keeping aloof from political Nonconformists, those who belonged to what was called the "Low Church School" showed an evident inclination to exalt the bonds which united them to the National Establishment, above those of spiritual sympathy which they had once exclusively prized. This truce was broken by the sudden apparition of a set of men who were evidently as strong in their reverence for institutions as Englishmen usually are, but who proclaimed that *ecclesiastical* institutions do not depend upon the authority of kings or parliaments, and should not be meddled with by them. This doctrine, touching so closely at one point upon that which had been held by the Puritans of old, and has passed from them to a large body of Scotch Presbyterians and English Dissenters, was nevertheless united with a passionate denunciation of Puritanism, and of all that has sprung from it. The English Church had suffered, it was said, terribly from a mixture with Puritans and from the infection of their notions; but its ministry was apostolical, its doctrines were those of the time before the separation of the Western and Eastern Churches, it renounced the pretensions of the Romish Bishop, because they interfered with the authority of

other Bishops, and were not supported by the testimony of the first ages. It adhered to the tradition of those ages more faithfully than any branch of the Church did. By this tradition it explained the nature and force of its Sacraments ; it justified the authority of the true Catholic Church ; it interpreted the Scriptures.

Mr. Hare became a rector in the diocese of Chichester, just when these doctrines were putting on their first phase ; when they were awakening the indignation of the most moderate Dissenters, whom they seemed almost to exclude from the pale of salvation ; when they were alarming Conservative churchmen by their scorn of the State and of Establishments ; when they were arousing the half-slumbering conviction of the Evangelical school, that inward faith and not outward institutions must be the groundwork of a spiritual society. At the same time these teachers were winning proselytes at least as rapidly as they were creating opponents ; enlisting the sympathies of young men wearied by the heartless tone of statesmen who seemed to regard religion only as an instrument for keeping the lower classes in their due relation to the upper—wearied of the mere individualism of some Evangelical teachers, and of the compromise between state religion and individual religion, in others—or merely weary of themselves, and longing for some new excitement. This last class, who found plentiful gratification in repeating the scornful jokes of the Oxford Tract writers against their different opponents, were somewhat staggered by finding that a specially severe asceticism was demanded by these writers, and that the most awful language was used by them respecting the sins of baptized men. But if not a few were alarmed by this tone of speaking, or deemed it so severe that they might pass it by altogether and busy themselves with more

attractive aspects of the system, quite as many welcomed it as corresponding to doubts and terrors in their own minds, as proving that the new doctors were falsely accused of substituting the external for the internal, as an escape from certain convictions about Justification by Faith, which had been demanded of them in the Evangelical school, and which they had found it difficult to reconcile with their experience, and with other lessons coming from the same quarter.

From what has been said of the previous discipline of Mr. Hare, and of the results to which it had led him, it may be conjectured that there were parts of this teaching, and those some of the radical parts of it, which would cause him more pain than they caused to any of the persons who uttered the most vehement imprecations against it. He who had been learning to reverence Luther more than all doctors in divinity, was suddenly told that he must prove his devotion to the English Church, by renouncing fellowship with him, and by acknowledging that the principle which he spent his life in defending, though it might have a right interpretation, was, as *he* meant it, as *he* preached it, subversive of morality, and of theological truth. And this was not all. To uphold Christ as the present living Head of the whole body of the Church, had appeared to the writer of these Charges, the only hope for its unity. Now he was instructed that the promised Presence was only with the Clergy as the successors of the Apostles. He could scarcely help thinking that it was not in any real sense a presence of Christ at all, but rather a delegation of functions to men who were supplying His place in His absence. Much of the language which was used by the partisans of the Tracts went this length; if followed to its principle, it seemed to him to involve all the vices of Romanism, and at last a kind of denial which has not yet

been fully developed, though it shortly may be, in Romanism itself.

Accordingly, his first sermon preached before the Clergy of the diocese of Chichester on the text, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" was expressly a vindication of the words from what he regarded as the perilous limitation which had been forced upon them. The sermon excited considerable attention at the time. The School, whose interpretation it combated, received it as a sign that the preacher intended to commence a polemic against them. And if to assert Justification by Faith in the broadest Lutheran sense; to maintain that the Church cannot be contemplated apart from its invisible Head, and has no powers except in Him; to claim for all its members an actual knowledge of the truth, and not the second-hand knowledge which is derived from tradition; to affirm that the function of the English Church is not as some affirmed, to steer its course between "the Scylla of Rome, and the Charybdis of Geneva,"—there being as many spiritual as geographical obstacles to such navigation;—if this was to engage in polemics with the Anglican divines, their expectation was not disappointed. His sermons at Cambridge, which have been alluded to, were implicitly, if not in words, an assault upon all these maxims and habits of thought.

But he had no notion of joining in the cry against the new teachers which some were raising. There was in them, he was sure, a real craving after Unity; a desire to make English clergymen more aware of their responsibilities to God, and of the powers they might use for the good of the people; an impatience of secularity; a willingness to endure obloquy and loss for the sake of a conviction. To such tempers as these his inmost heart responded;

he was sure the English Church needed them, and could not afford to be without them. He could not help seeing, that it had profited and was profiting in many ways by their exertions; that they were doing more than any class or school for education, and were stirring others who differed from them to labour for it also; that they were encouraging better and less visible modes of giving than the one which the subscription-list offers; that they were helping to break down the barriers between rich and poor in churches. Nor could he doubt that they had awakened deeper thoughts in the minds of many laymen, and a greater disposition to study theology and subjects that illustrate theology, amongst the clergy. He could not withhold his assent from the sentiment which his honoured friend the Bishop of St. David's had courage to utter in one of his early Charges, that this movement had given rise to more valuable writings in theology than had appeared for a very long time previous to it. However, therefore, his blood might boil at many of the statements of these writers, respecting the truths which were dearest to him, and, he believed, most precious to England, he dared not look back upon the quiet which they interrupted with any regret. He was glad that the clergy had not been allowed to settle upon their lees; he desired earnestly that he might be an instrument in preventing their relapse into a dangerous and deceitful repose.

Could he be such an instrument, by endeavouring to keep alive a party excitement? All experience showed him that he could not. This excitement must die away through its own violence; when it was strongest, any clear-sighted man might perceive that it was subsiding, and that the usual reaction of indifference and coldness was at hand. Not that the bitterness of strife could depart with the zeal which

concealed and seemed to justify it. Parties are never so cruel as when the real battle is over; then comes the hour of proscriptions and confiscations. In our day, the attachment to a chief, which of old gave a party something of the cordiality of a clan, can scarcely be maintained. For an invisible Newspaper Pope summons both leader and disciples to its tribunal, and absolves the latter from their allegiance, if the former rebels against its authority. To make a principle the bond of party union under such conditions is equally difficult. The Newspaper declares what principles are *not* to be held, what are to be denounced. Opposition to them becomes the watchword. What is *believed*, is a secondary question altogether.

Mr. Hare had reflected on these observations, which bear directly upon our religious parties. Were they not illustrated and confirmed by events in the political world? Who ever defended party so ably, so much upon principle, as Edmund Burke? Who was more attached to his own? Who claved to quite another party with more tenacity, or could prove more eloquently the necessity for it, than George Canning? Yet each of these eminent statesmen broke up his party. No men could less resemble these in temper of mind and education—no two could less resemble each other—than Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. Yet they also twice consolidated and led large parties, and twice destroyed them. Could these successive events be attributed to accident? Was there not a Divine necessity in them? Were they not a handwriting on the wall, declaring to States, that the old doctrine of ruling by faction had been weighed in the balance, and found wanting—that unless there was some other to fall back upon, government would become impossible? And ought not the handwriting to be deciphered, and interpreted,

and applied to themselves by Churchmen? Should *they* not be able to declare in words, and to show by example, what the higher principle is, and in whose strength it may be carried out?

The writer of these Charges certainly thought so. He believed that if the clergy are to be zealous and energetic in action, vigorous in defending the truths which are given them to keep, they must understand that they are united in other and higher bonds than those of a school. He did not believe that it was an easy thing to put on those bonds, and to cast away the others. The way of party—the defenders of it say so, for they plead that it is an inevitable evil, one to which “poor human nature” must yield—is a *broad* way, in our Lord’s sense of the word,—one readily found, smooth to walk in. The other way is (in His sense) a strait and narrow one, not visible always to the naked eye, difficult to persevere in after the opening into it has been detected. But if the first is a downward path, leading societies and individuals to death—if the second is the upward path to life, the search must be worth all the earnest effort that can be bestowed upon it.

This search is quickly concluded, if we may assume that in wavering statements—a perpetual equipoise of affirmations and negations—lies the secret of reconciliation. Mr. Hare, the reader will have perceived, hoped nothing from that method. All the experiments he saw of it had tended to exasperate animosities rather than to heal them—to drive earnest men into the arms of the factious, from sheer despair of extracting any meaning or any practical help out of the counsels of the moderate. Nor could he admit the application of the precedents upon which the advocates for this system rely. He had known and loved Bishop Heber, and he was sure that it

was not the moderation of his opinions, but the heartiness and generosity of the man, his freedom from professional formality, his possession of all the qualities which belong to the Christian gentleman, which gave him his power over his contemporaries.

These noble gifts were exhibited to Mr. Hare continually in his own diocese, and he could perceive what effects they were producing. Dr. Otter became Bishop of Chichester at a time when the religious strife was at its height, and when political strifes were mingled with it. He himself must have been suspected by many of the clergy, because he owed his appointment to a Whig Minister. By a courtesy which made itself felt in all his words and acts, and which evidently proceeded from a divine root within, he caused men of the most opposite opinions to understand that they were parts of the same family, and that he was their spiritual father. No earnestness which belonged to any of them, as members of a school, was weakened by the feeling of this higher relation,—it contributed as much to the increase of their activity as of their charity. What a duty was laid upon every clergyman who witnessed such an example, to endeavour in his own sphere to show that a life has a more healing and elevating influence upon men than any theories! But how much was this obligation increased in the case of one whose early studies had led him to the conclusion that there is a living Truth, in which opposing theories have their meeting-point, and that this truth may be found, if, instead of acquiescing in either of the theories, or violently contradicting it, we will patiently question it to see what is meant by it, what is in the heart of him who is cleaving to it! And what light fell upon both these lessons,—how they were translated to a new ground,—by a devout meditation on the Gospels, which

proved that the spirit of sectarianism in the opposing Jewish schools hated the Son of God, because he witnessed for the truth which each was denying, and for that which each was distorting; and that the men of each of these sects who really loved the principle in which they had been nurtured, turned to Him because they saw all that they believed embodied in Him, and saw that it was united with truths which they had not yet been able to believe! It was so then, must it not be so now? Is not the Son of God still the enemy of all parties, as parties—still the refuge for the members of every party who really hold those principles in the love of them, for the sake of which it has been allowed to exist? And may not those who can proclaim Him in this character be instruments of a reconciliation which is not identical with compromise, but the direct contradiction of it?

No one can entertain such a conviction as this, without longing for some opportunity of showing that it is emphatically not a paper notion; that it is applicable to human beings in all circumstances, with all their varieties of temper, with all their infirmities and sins; that it never was needed by any age more than by ours; that it may be better appreciated by our age than by any which has preceded it. The office of an Archdeacon is in many respects peculiarly favourable for such an experiment. It never can be regarded by the most ill-natured looker-on as a prize for ambition or covetousness: the sphere in which it is exercised is limited and humble; it does not involve the necessity for that reserve in the statement of opinions which is often almost imposed upon the Bishop; its holder cannot for an instant be thought of as separated by any external accidents from fellowship with his brother clergy. A more felicitous position for a person with the objects which Hare

was aiming at can scarcely be conceived. He probably felt so himself; and it was with reluctance that he told Bishop Otter, when he offered him the Archdeaconry of Lewes, that he considered his first sermon in the diocese was a disqualification, because it had given offence to a very estimable portion of those among whom he would be called to labour. His objection was kindly and decisively overruled by the Bishop, who expressed his own sympathy both with the principles of the sermon, which had procured for Hare a party reputation, and with his desire to prove that he did not deserve it. Dr. Otter was confident that if he took the office the impression would soon be removed altogether.

From that moment he devoted himself to his work with the ardour of a boy, and the deliberate purpose of a man. He seemed to think that he had found the task for which he had all his life been preparing. His fine collection of books, with the unusual knowledge he possessed of their contents, all the experience he had acquired in the world, all that he had suffered in mind or body, were gifts which would enable him to perform the task of an Archdeacon, as he had conceived it, more honestly.

His first duty was to claim all his clerical brethren as fellow-labourers. There were some, of course, who were ready to hail him as a champion of Justification by Faith, and of their champion. With them he could fraternize heartily, on the ground of their positive belief; their friendship he valued for its own sake; he was eager to learn from them. But he did not share their animosities; he met them on the ground of common love, not common hatred; if they demanded the sacrifice of any other attachment, as a proof of the sincerity of his attachment to them, he must submit to be considered insincere. It is scarcely necessary to say that

those who were most strenuous for their own convictions, and had given the greatest pledges of their adherence to them, were the least likely to impose any such condition.

With members of the party which had an excuse for thinking him their enemy he acted on the same principle. He found abundant points of sympathy with them—into many of their plans of practical reformation he could enter heartily. He abhorred the pew-system, and all that is connected with it, and all that it represents, as much as they did; and since this subject especially concerned his office as Arch-deacon, it was one of the first which he brought under the notice of his clergy. He could join in their schemes for education, believing them to be often sound and comprehensive, though he was not the least inclined to denounce the State, the Evangelical school, or the Dissenters for those which they originated.

Some of these schemes were suspected; who could prophesy whither they might be tending? He certainly could not, and he did not fancy that he had any call to prophesy. What was wrong was not to be done, because it was wrong; what was right was to be done, whatever might come of it—God would see to that. He did not expect to escape suspicion himself, and he was certain that he had no business to cherish it towards any one else, seeing that experience shows it to be the best means of promoting the acts which afterwards are thought to justify it. Was it not a simpler thing to tell his friends to their face, when he thought they were taking a bad course; to listen to their explanations; to say, if they did not satisfy him; to proclaim it openly, if they did? If he hated all the practices which are associated with the name of Jesuitism, he was bound to avoid every approach to them in his own intercourse. “Beware of that man, he

is a Jesuit." Is he? Then it is a point of common prudence not to try our hand at weapons in which he is confessedly master; to use only those which he does not understand,—plainness of speech, straightforward acts, open-hearted trust. Those who follow this course, probably, meet on the whole with fewer designing men than their neighbours; sometimes they foil them when they do meet with them; sometimes they may call forth out of the covering in which he was buried, a human being, who had never discovered himself before, and who is charmed by the voice of Truth, from its very strangeness.

All his clergy must have seen that Archdeacon Hare's nature was vehement, that his convictions were strong, and that he took no pains to disguise them. But these qualities seemed to win him the regard of men whom coldness would have alienated. There were some, of course, in his archdeaconry upon whose aid he could calculate, some who had themselves won the confidence of opposing parties. It was no wonder that the two Mr. Andersons of Brighton should have given him their friendship, for that was never withheld from any person who was trying honestly to labour in the cause of Christ, and was never withdrawn in good report, or in evil report. But he could also reckon among his friends his old fellow-collegian, Mr. Henry Venn Elliott, and many besides, who, if they had trusted more to what they heard of him, than to what they saw, might have deemed him quite unworthy of their confidence. He valued also exceedingly the regard of Mr. Woodard, the hard-working and disinterested founder of the schools at Shoreham and Hurstpierpoint, who was ordinarily classed in the other school. All these excellent men might differ from him in a hundred points, and not understand him in a hundred more; so much

the better, if, in spite of those differences, and that want of understanding, they could yet perceive that he had the root of the matter in him, and that the nearer they got to that root—the less they dwelt on the surface—the closer their sense of union with him became.

In all the work which he did in the diocese, he had not only the hearty and generous cooperation of the successive bishops, whose kindness to him was unvarying, but also for several years the advice and assistance of his dear friend Mr. Manning, the Archdeacon of Chichester. How valuable he considered that advice and assistance; how thoroughly he believed—while they were working together, and after they were separated—that Mr. Manning's plans were wise; that his love to the Church which he left was true and profound; that he had rare gifts of head and heart; those knew best who knew him best. The secret of their friendship, and of any success which attended their fellow-work, consisted in this, that they dealt honestly with each other. Hare never concealed from Mr. Manning his repugnance to the system which had been announced with so much clearness and logical precision in the book on "The Unity of the Church." Of course the objections to the Victory of faith, and the defence of Luther, were stated as frankly. When Mr. Manning, in one of his Charges, appeared to identify Unity with Uniformity, or at least to treat them as inseparable, Hare announced publicly, in a dedication to a Sermon he preached at Brighton, his entire dissent from that proposition; his conviction, that unity is not only distinct from uniformity, but involves in its very nature and definition the existence of wide diversities of opinion and of external practice. He did not hide his opinion, that nearly all the questions of our time are connected with this; that Mr. Manning's doctrine

of unity involves conclusions which would be fatal to the existence of any national church, *because* utterly inconsistent with the idea of a Catholic Church. To many a logician of Mr. Manning's school, to many a stout partisan of the opposite school, a statement made so openly might have appeared to determine their future relations with each other. Probably they laboured together more happily, and with more freedom after than before its publication. Mr. Hare was certain, that the formal conclusion to which his friend had come, expressed most inadequately the belief concerning unity which was struggling in him. He did not change that opinion—it was strengthened—when he saw how heavily the chains of system pressed upon a spirit that was born for freedom. If ultimately it put on heavier chains as a way of escaping these, he owned the honesty which had led to so intensely painful a resolution. He regarded this event as one of the saddest and most stirring admonitions to the English Church respecting her sins, and the captivity with which God may punish them; he longed more for the time when Christ shall be revealed as the real centre of that Unity, which men are trying to create by substitutes and counterfeits of Him. But he never drew *this* lesson from the event which caused him so much sorrow; it never drew from him one wish that he had been less cordial, less open, with one who deserved all cordiality and openness. If the years which he had passed through had been given back to him, with the knowledge how they would end, he would not have changed his course. The stings of conscience we feel in recalling hours of fellowship, which death or something worse has robbed us of, are not for any too frank and generous outpourings of the heart, but for the dryness, distance, reserve, suspicion, which has defiled so many of them, and made them unfruitful.

But if he held intercourse with men of high cultivation in different sections of the Church, his main desire was to use their wisdom, as well as any opportunities of study and reflection that might have been granted to himself, for the help of those labourers who are teaching in out-of-the-way neighbourhoods, without much money to buy books, or much time for reading, but for whom God has provided another kind of education,—in poor men's cottages and beside sick beds,—who need to be admonished of the greatness of that work, and need to connect their local interests with those of their country and of the Church. It may seem to many that his Charges were not addressed to this portion of the clergy. He felt differently. He thought that those whose work is in danger of becoming a drudgery, whose faith may degenerate into a mere repetition of words, whose zeal may be turned into impotent fury against men or opinions that are almost unknown to them, especially require to be encouraged, to be reminded of high and eternal principles, to hear questions which had been resolved for them, by some oracular journalist, thoughtfully and earnestly examined; to be shown how they may encounter the thoughts which are disturbing the minds of their flocks; to discover how dead words may acquire vitality when they are used to meet new perplexities, to interpret the world in which we are moving. For this purpose, a friendly official, who had a right to speak, but not to command, might be more useful even than one whose authority was greater; provided he spoke manfully and deliberately; was indifferent about committing himself; was very careful of uttering rash words which should exasperate the passions of his hearers, or cold words which should check any honest enterprise they might be engaged in, any good hope they might be cherishing. It seemed to him, that if he set

himself to speak of the sins which he and they had to confess, before he commented on the sins of other men ; if he spoke of the position which God had given them, as a reason for not trusting in it, but in Him ; if he showed them what high ends they might pursue, and what low ends they were often tempted to pursue ; he should do justice to the deepest and strongest conviction of each school in the Church, while he fought with the tempers in each, which were weakening it and keeping them asunder. A few instances will show how he fulfilled this intention.

No subject has given rise to so much contention in our time as the privileges of the Church. Every statesman hears the word with alarm ; he suspects that some claims will be put forth which will interfere with the peace of the nation, with his own work, with ordinary notions of justice and truth. Nor is he only afraid of one party in the Church. One, indeed, talks most loudly of the independence of the Church—of the powers of the clergy, which are derived straight from Heaven ; but the other forbids him to do acts which his conscience often tells him he must do—appeals to Scripture to settle questions which he feels must be debated in Parliament—declares that there is a moral standard for religious men which he cannot in the least understand.

Now, Archdeacon Hare grapples with this subject, nominally in one Charge, really in all. He recognises the high privileges of the Church ; he refuses to consider it in any sense as the creature of the State. He urges the clergy to look upon themselves as the ambassadors of God, not as the servants of men ; he would have them not only believe in their powers, but assure themselves that they have powers, by using them. If they say, " We have the powers, because there has been an apostolical succession in our Church," without the least

denying the fact, he would ascend higher still; he would claim more for the Church than the mere believers in a succession dare to claim; he would assert the living and continual Presence of our Lord with it; he would not allow that we can ever be *satisfied* with a descent of treasures, though we may be thankful if any have come to us in that way. But if he is asked to say, "The clergy have such and such powers *exclusively*; they do not represent the Church, or act as her ministers: these powers are given to them to set them apart from the laity—to constitute them a separate caste or order"—he does not mutter a doubt, or choose a middle way; he is at once distinctly and unhesitatingly on the side of those who assert the rights of the laity, who maintain that Christ is with the whole Church. Nor does he make some uncertain answer to the question, whether, because we have such and such powers, foreign Christians are to be unchurched and Nonconformists excommunicated. He denounces such doctrines, not as partially true, but as utterly wrong and dangerous; intrusions upon Christ's office of a Judge; practical denials of his work as a Universal Redeemer. There are no compromises in any of these statements; sentences are not balanced against sentences; a second clause in a sentence is not introduced to nullify the first. But he throws himself heart and soul into the earnest practical faith of the writers of the Oxford Tracts, while he asserts how high, and from what source, our gifts are; how great the responsibility, not to man, but to God, for the use and abuse of them. He vindicates the earnest faith of the Evangelical, which rebels, on the ground of Scripture as well as experience, against the exaltation of a mere order: he shows how in work, the convictions of both may find a meeting-point, and may be realized to the very utmost.

But will not this work clash with that of the State? He answers, No; our high privileges are given us on purpose that we may perform duties. And these are just the duties which the true statesman wants to get done, but cannot do. This is a very obvious proposition, and a very old one—implied in the Constitution of England, repeated again and again by her best sons. But it requires to be brought out in reference to the circumstances of each age; the common-place must cease to be a common-place, by being acted out. Men who believe they have a Divine commission talk ignominiously of being hampered by the State. How can that be? If they fulfil their commission, by making Englishmen nobler citizens, what does the State care how they were enabled to do it that unspeakable service? But here comes in the moral confusion. *Is* that exactly what Churchmen are appointed to do? Are they not to make citizens of the kingdom of heaven? Will those who are best in the one character be the best in the other?

To show that this *is* exactly what the Churchman has to do—that he is to teach a higher morality than the civic morality, but not one which is different in kind from that—that he is to lay the foundations of morality deeper than those who are merely aiming at right acts can lay them, but that his foundations are utterly false and rotten if any acts can be built upon them which a true English gentleman would think dishonourable, which the conscience of a simple Englishman would revolt at—consequently, that the citizen of the heavenly kingdom must be the best citizen of the earthly—this was Hare's aim: a plain, vulgar one, perhaps, but not needless in any day—most needful in ours. And he felt that he could appeal on behalf of this sound and practical principle, not only to the English heart which dwells in the

clergy of the old school, but to the Christian heart which there is in the clergy of both the newer schools. If the Evangelical dreads Romanism, he must resolutely abjure that tenet which lies at the root of every Romish corruption, that there can be a religious end which is not a moral end ; that truth and righteousness may ever be sacrificed in the cause of a true and righteous God. If the High Churchman condemns what he calls the fanaticism of the Puritans, he ought to see that the fanaticism which they can be justly accused of, and which corrupted what was very noble and great in them, arose from the false notion, that the servants of God are obeying a mere arbitrary Ruler, and not a just King. And before he takes a mote out of the Puritan's eye, he must see that there is not a beam in his own ; that, in the name and cause of his Church, he is not sanctioning the same separation of human and Divine maxims which shocks him when it is turned to the opposite use.

With this moral question the political is closely involved—"What, is not our polity higher than the national one ? Are we to submit to it ? Are we to receive our tone from it ?" By no means, he would answer ; prove how much higher your polity is, by giving a tone to the State. But what tone ? Statesmen want to believe—they are very slow to believe—that a just and righteous God is ruling in the earth, and therefore that they must be just and righteous. Proclaim that truth to them ; call them to account, as the prophets of old did, when they forget righteousness and justice in any of their dealings with any of their subjects. But if you have this trust from God, do not be talking as if there were some special questions in which the Church is interested, and in which the land at large is not interested ; as if you were

always to be on the watch lest the State should intrude upon *your* rights, should rob you of your revenues ; as if this was the way of proving that you have a Divine commission from a Master who pleased not Himself, but was the servant of all. This petty jealousy for itself makes all the protests which the Church might bear against the neglects and ill-doings of rulers totally ineffectual. To discourage this kind of suspicion is the way to awaken the true godly vigilance of which it is the counterfeit—a vigilance which is impossible till the clergy assert the sins of their rulers to be their own—till they confess that no men are so responsible for the low standard of thought and practice which is amongst us, as they are. To kindle a Church feeling, which should be at the same time a national feeling,—to change the uneasy consciousness of certain undefined rights which exists in Churchmen into a conscience which shall be alive to their obligations, social as well as individual—is one great object of these Charges.

The question, viewed in this way, has reference to ecclesiastical pretensions, therefore, to the temptations of the High Church School. There is another aspect of it which more directly concerns the other School. In one of the Charges, which is now printed for the first time, he grapples with the question of the Maynooth Grant, and, as usual, delivers himself upon it fearlessly, yet with much deliberation. It was a subject, he thought, on which the good feelings of the Clergy were peculiarly likely to lead them astray, and make them the tools of rash declaimers. Leaving the question open, what course it was best for the Legislature to adopt, he contends that it was clearly a case in which the Legislature was not barred by any Divine laws from exercising a discretion. They had a right, he thinks they were bound as men holding a trust from God, to determine

what it was best for the whole land that they should do ; they were bound to disregard any one who stopped them by a preliminary appeal to God's hatred of idol worship. How deep that hatred is, how fatal such worship is to the life and order of nations, what danger there is of our falling into any—even the worst—forms of it, no one felt more strongly than he did ; but he believed that those who leapt at once from this premiss to the conclusion that it is a wicked thing for the nation to contribute to the education of Roman Catholics, play most unwarrantably with God's word ; get credit for maintaining a principle in name which they cannot carry out in fact ; and lead religious men away from their real dangers to fictitious dangers.

Another very important question is involved in this. The politician is apt to worship expediency, as if there were no fixed law of right ; the religious man denounces expediency, and endeavours to set up a fixed law for all cases. By different routes they come to the same result. There is *not* a fixed law for all cases ; we must consider the application of laws in each case. Because he refuses to do so, the religious man is driven to exalt an expediency of his own,—*his* judgment of what will serve or what will hinder a particular end. This judgment he canonizes and worships ; but it is a poor, flexible, human judgment after all : while it lasts, it interferes more with fixed morality than the politician's expediency, because it assumes a title to which it has no claim. Therefore he conceived that it was a duty to the eternal truths of morality to show what is the province of expediency, and how it may be made subservient to them. His brethren might differ from him in his conclusion ; he believed that they would see that he was not indifferent to principle, but was fighting for it ; or if any causes hindered them

from doing him that justice immediately, they might recollect his words, and turn them to profit, after his voice had ceased to be heard among them.

The Contest with Rome, which is the subject of the longest and one of the latest of these Charges, is intimately connected with the questions that have been spoken of already. He was preparing for that contest by leading the Clergy to purify their minds of those ethical and political notions which have made the Romish system immoral and anti-national. So long as they tolerated in their minds confusions about the difference between religious and secular duties ; so long as they regarded the State as an enemy, or merely claimed it as a servant to do their works ; so long as they thought any wrong act might be done for a good end, any false argument resorted to, or any evidence strained, to justify the best cause or confute the worst : so long he was sure they were in danger of Romanism ; they were doing much to hasten its restoration and its triumph in their own land. He desired to make the Clergy feel that this terrible calamity, if it is in store for us, will not be owing to any acts of the State, but to themselves ; and that one party has no right to reproach the other as the leader to this abyss : that all are leading to it who are doing anything to weaken the national heart, to confuse the national conscience, to keep alive national divisions. In fact, what is more fatal than these very accusations ? this habitual disobedience to the solemn words in the Sermon on the Mount, " Judge not, that ye be not judged ? " this habitual commission of an act which our Lord pronounces to be the act of a hypocrite ? If there is one proof more than another which the writer of these Charges gave that he was seeking the peace of the Church, it was in his perpetual call to the members of it to own their own sins first, and to feel

their brethren's sins as their own. And these were not idle words. He felt when he was speaking to his brethren, that he had more to answer for than any of them had, and that he was truly standing forth for that time as their representative, to bear their offences and infirmities with them. So he was led to understand our need of One who has borne the sins of the whole body, and is making intercession for it.

The last Charge in these volumes is on the subject of Convocation. Archdeacon Hare believed, with the majority of the High Church party, that questions affecting the Clergy ought to be discussed in a body where they are fairly represented; he believed, with a number of the Low Church party, that the deliberations of such a body must be ineffectual, unless the laity also are represented in it. It is not necessary to argue here whether he was right or wrong in either of these opinions. They cannot be passed over, because they occupied such a prominent place in the Charges, and because they illustrate the purpose and spirit of those in which they are not directly referred to. Everywhere he shows the same desire that the Clergy should work together as a body; should meet and compare their thoughts; should bring their local experience to bear upon the common weal, in order that they might not work in hostile sections, under the dominion of hostile party-organs. Everywhere he shows the same wish that the Clergy should not be divided from their lay brethren by any artificial barriers. Everywhere he indicates his anxiety that the Church should have a free action of its own; that it should be one which assists the national action, not impedes it. And it is also characteristic of him, that though he saw innumerable imperfections in the existing form of Convocation, though he set no great store by its traditions, he yet preferred to

make use of what we have, as a means of obtaining something better, than to cast it aside. In the hard task of imparting to that body some vitality, he had the great pleasure of finding himself working by the side of persons from whom he differed upon almost every subject; and of some, as Dr. Mill, whom he had known, and for whose character he had a deep respect, but with whom he had been in direct controversy. Nothing gave him better auguries for the future, than the discovery that it was possible for men so unlike in their opinions, and so little disposed to smother them from any motives of policy, to labour for the same end, when they believed that end was the consolidation of the Church and not of a School.

The notes to these Charges will perhaps surprise the reader more than the Charges themselves, not so much for the amount of erudition which they exhibit, as for the reasons which could have induced the author to conceal his erudition in such corners. The parts of them which contain documents illustrating events that were passing in England, or illustrating English history generally, civil or ecclesiastical, may justify themselves by the fact, that few clergymen have access to large libraries, and that if they have, they may not be sorry to see some of the results of the reading of a thoughtful and accomplished man brought to bear on the subjects on which he had already addressed them. "But what," it may be asked, "is the intention of the long translations from German divines which frequently occur? How could parish priests be profited by these? Do they not indicate a purpose of introducing German divinity covertly among our young English divines? Do we not see here the fine end of the wedge, which is gradually to be pushed further? Were not these extracts to familiarize

us with a way of considering Holy Scripture, which is subversive of the belief and doctrine of our fathers, a way which will unsettle still more, as it has unsettled already, the religious mind of England?" When this question has been considered and answered, this Preface will have done all that it was designed to do, and the reader may be left to gather much better instruction from the Charges themselves.

It is true that these translations were not made without an object, and that that object had a direct reference to the feelings with which many clergymen regard, and teach their flocks to regard, the Holy Scriptures. It is true also that the writer had especially in his mind some of the younger members of his own profession. In the days of Luther men were wont to speak of the Word of God as quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword; they not only said it was so, but they found it to be so. A text of Scripture came to them as if it proceeded from the mouth of the Lord; it entered into them,—they bowed to it. In our days, we speak of the Bible as being the word of God; often signifying nothing thereby, but that a certain book containing a certain number of letters is stamped with the Divine authority, and that any doubts concerning it are sinful. This is not the old Protestant, the old English, belief. That may be often hidden beneath the hard dogmatical Pharisaical worship of letters; it may come forth in hours of sorrow in its old strength. But they are not the same; one is stifling and killing the other; people do not feel that God's voice is speaking to them, that God himself is among them. The young men are beginning, many of them, to ask whether the notion of such a Voice is not altogether a delusion; whether the Book, which used to be considered Divine, is not a composition of mere mortals; whether all modern criticism

is not leading us toward this conclusion. Those who are shocked at such inquiries, nevertheless appear to admit the truth of the suspicion. "In Germany," they say, "there is most criticism about the origin of the books of Scripture, and there the very notion of any divinity attaching to them is utterly discredited." "Well, then," replies the youth, "the further we search, the less plea there is for this old fancy; if we go on, we shall get rid of it altogether." What reply is given, but some moral about the danger of meddling with forbidden books, a moral which is not heeded, unless circumstances should make it prudent to feign a conviction, or some great heart struggle should bring forth the *real* conviction, that there must be some message from God to man, that He cannot have left us to grope our way through the darkness without a guide.

Now Archdeacon Hare was inwardly persuaded that modern criticism has shaken *an* opinion: but that that opinion is the new one, not the old; the doctrine which has supplanted the Lutheran doctrine, not that doctrine itself. All in Germany have been shaken who mistook letters for life; or, to put the thing in another form, who did not believe in a Word of God, but only believed in the evidence that vindicates the authority of certain documents. Such faith can never sustain a soul; it is not the faith of God's elect; and, therefore, if we have nothing better than this, we must expect that God will show us, as He has shown them, that we are building on the sand.

Having this conviction, and not having adopted it lightly, or without a considerable knowledge of the history of German divinity, he thought it was the right and the safe course, to show the clergy, young and old, that German divines who have passed through the struggles of this age, who under-

stand all the maxims of modern criticism, who do not shrink from any examination into the history of the Scripture books, do nevertheless believe, not only that God spake in times past by the prophets unto the fathers, but that He *is* speaking in these latter days to us by a Son. He did not pledge himself to any of their particular conclusions, (for the conclusions of those whom he quotes on questions of criticism are different from each other,) but he did pledge himself that they had, so far as it was possible for man to judge, such a faith in God's word as we might be glad to share with them, or if that could be, to borrow from them. He had no notion, however, that borrowing was possible or desirable. He believed that no German ought to be an Anglican, and that no Englishman should affect to be a German. He believed that we have a work to do, which is altogether different from that which they have to do; that if we forget our own, and try to do theirs, we shall prove ourselves clumsy and stupid craftsmen; that the very opposition of our habits of mind may make us both help in bringing out the truth, which will be mangled if either tries to imitate the other. A cross between the two he held to be monstrous. "I can never advise any English parent to send his son to Germany for education," he said to a friend who consulted him on behalf of a gentleman who meditated such a step; "that boy must be an Achilles who can bear to be brought up by a Centaur." It was not to encourage any such mixtures, that he made his countrymen acquainted with some passages of German theologians which were probably new to most of them. It was, that ignorance of the Christianity of other men might not involve them in a perilous conceit of their own. It was that their Christianity might not rest upon a loose, insincere, half conviction. It was that they

might not live in an ignominious, cowardly, Godless dread, that if they knew more they should find everything in earth and heaven insecure and rotten. It was that they might feel Christ to be still that Rock of Ages on whom their fathers stood, and the Church stands, and against whom it is promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail.

It was impossible for one who had studied the conditions of English parties as he had, not to perceive that in this instance again both were contributing to weaken the Church's doctrine by their very strifes. That plausible counterfeit for our old faith in God's word, which assumes to itself the character of reverence for Scripture and its inspiration, derives strength from the eagerness of one party to maintain the necessity of tradition and Church authority in the interpretation of the Bible; from the eagerness of the other to prove that it stands apart from all human books. Both, unawares, degrade it into a mere document,—a book which is divine because it is not human,—although all its statements are grounded on the assertion that man is made in the image of God; although the centre of its revelations is the God-man. But the faithful and devout member of the Evangelical School always carries in his inmost heart a witness against this shocking perversion. He means what his fathers meant, even when he uses the phraseology of the newspapers. Instead of exaggerating the importance of the history, he is often apt to depreciate it, and to think only of the message which is carried to his own heart and conscience; to receive *this* as the only evidence that the book has come from the Father of Lights. And the faithful and devout High Churchman clings so earnestly to the belief of a Spirit dwelling in the Church through all ages, that he in his best moments feels and confesses the Book to be not chiefly

a legacy from the past, but to contain for this day—for the peasants of England—a clearer, more intelligible testimony than all the commentaries upon it. Archdeacon Hare therefore could, in this case, as in all others, confidently believe that there was in these better, holier convictions, a living substance which would make itself manifest through the crust that conceals it. He did not deal rudely with the crust, but he laboured earnestly that if it is broken, no part of the precious treasure within may be lost.

To those who knew him, any vindication from the charge of not being national, will seem particularly superfluous. He was national all his life through, most so in his latest years. He hoped much that the present war, in spite of its miseries and horrors, would be an instrument of restoring the national spirit among us, not only by helping to cast out the money-getting spirit, but quite as much by the blow it would give to that other enemy and curse of England—its religious party-spirit. No efforts and no sorrows seemed to him too tremendous, if they aided in delivering us from the mad pursuit of material objects, which enslaves—from the mad pursuit of factious objects, which rends asunder—the heart of a country. And in thinking of the war, he could not of course separate English interests from the interests of mankind. He did not dream that it could do us any good, unless we felt that it had been undertaken as a witness that the God of Righteousness and Truth would not have the Nations united under any despot, military or ecclesiastical; that He would have them bound together in one family in His Son. This was his idea of a Broad Church. To be an aider and abettor in setting up a new party in the land, with whatever specious name it might be adorned, whatever pretensions of largeness and liberality it might

put on, he would have regarded as an act of treason against the sovereign of England, and against the King of kings. To aid and abet, even within the narrowest sphere, in making England a united country under its Queen, in making the Church feel its own union in Christ, he regarded as the highest honour which could be bestowed upon a clergyman, as the highest duty which he could fulfil. All the polemics he engaged in had reference to this end. He did not vindicate the decision of the Privy Council in the case of Mr. Gorham against some of his most valued friends, because he wanted any qualified statements on the subject of Baptism for the relief of his own conscience. He accepted the words on the subject in the Prayer Book and Articles without reservation ; he preferred them to any that he or any one else could have substituted for them. Nor did he withstand those who wished to procure an ecclesiastical sentence upon Dr. Hampden, because he had any personal acquaintance with that prelate, or because he approved the judgment of the Ministry which selected him. But he felt himself called to bear a continual witness against those who confound the crushing of opponents with the assertion of principles ; he believed that every party triumph is an injury to the whole Church, and an especial injury to the party which wins the triumph ; he was thankful when the authorities of the Church, through love for its peace, thankful even when the State, through impartial care for its subjects, defeated by delays or by direct interference even a well-organized religious conspiracy, and rescued its victim. He well knew that his words would not please those who pleaded for toleration on the ground that all theological conclusions are indifferent and unimportant ; he knew that he was encountering one faction just when its appetite for the prey was most ravenous ;

he knew that the momentary gratitude of the faction whose cause he espoused would be exchanged for a directly opposite feeling when its turn of power arrived, and it found that the maxims to which it had once listened with pleasure would, if acted upon, oblige it to quench its own thirst of vengeance. That they would treat the vexatious Marplot as a common enemy, must have seemed extremely probable to any man of ordinary experience. That probability would have kept Mr. Hare silent, if he had adopted the popular opinion, that the acts of a servant of God are to be determined by a prudent estimate of the consequences that will follow from them.

It has seemed desirable that the present Edition of these Charges should be published in Cambridge. Their connexion with the diocese of Chichester is sufficiently manifested by their contents. Their Author would have wished that they, and all his works, should also bear witness of his connexion with the University, to which he owed so much of his culture, and so many of his earliest as well as his latest friends. His love for Cambridge was a very cordial love. And, as he preserved his own youthful feelings fresh and alive, it was not limited by recollections of the past, it extended to those who are studying in our Colleges now; from them to all the youth of the land, whether they belonged to one class or another; whether they had grown up under the shadow of the English Church, or were members of some other Communion. His business was not *first* to reconcile schools and parties; their separation has caused another separation, upon which God has pronounced a more dreadful curse. The hearts of the fathers are turned from the children, of the children from the fathers. Much of our popular religious literature is perpetuating and

deepening this estrangement ; stimulating the terrors of the old respecting the seeds of popery or infidelity which are at work in those who are to take their places ; encouraging *them* to think that faith and freedom are natural enemies. To counteract these poisonous suggestions ; to convince men of his own generation that their suspicions were dangerous, not prudent ; godless, not Christian ; to sympathise in the thoughts, conflicts, perplexities, of those who were groping their way into truth ; to assure them that God was guiding them, though they knew it not ; to save them from casting away the inheritance they had received in their desire to increase it ;—this was the great purpose of Archdeacon Hare's life. For this reason he is spoken of with reverence and affection by some of those from whose humility, fidelity, and wisdom, England has most to hope in the days that are coming. Those who are proud of their own orthodoxy or of their own liberality, those who despise others for their want of orthodoxy or their want of liberality, will join in dislike, probably in contempt, for him. But those who in their theology, as in their human studies, esteem depth a more important dimension even than breadth ; who, however widely they may extend the area of their knowledge or their charity, seek first of all to build both upon a rock ; those who suspect themselves and trust their fellow-creatures,—who are led, equally by the discovery of their own weakness, and of the good which they had not looked for in them, to believe in God as the one Source of good to all ; they have accepted the writer of these Charges, not as the dictator of their opinions, but as their Counsellor and their Friend.

THE WANTS OF THE CHURCH

A CHARGE TO THE CLERGY

OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1843.

THE WANTS OF THE CHURCH.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

I BEGAN my last Charge by expressing my regret that you were again, for the fourth year, deprived of the advantage of an Episcopal Exhortation; and my regret cannot but be increast, now that a fifth year has past away since Bishop Otter held his Visitation, and you have still no person to address you in these troubled times with words bearing the stamp of Episcopal authority. Our Bishop finds himself compelled by his parliamentary duties again to postpone the work of visiting his Diocese to another summer. This is a stronger case than ordinary, though every case must be more or less strong, to prove the exceeding injudiciousness of the rule which assigns the Chaplaincy of the House of Lords to the Junior Bishop on the Bench. For, as we must all know from our own experience, every beginning is beset by peculiar difficulties. The entrance into a new office places us in a new position, and under a number of new relations. Even the things with which we before were familiar, acquire a new aspect from the new point of view whence we look at them; and a variety of new duties start up, which after a time become comparatively easy, through the promptitude and dexterity resulting from habit and practice, but which at first call for careful consideration in each particular case. This is so in every condition

of life ; and each of us must have felt it when we first entered on our own ministerial and pastoral office. Still greater then, far greater and heavier must be the burthen of the new duties, which fall on a person when first appointed to the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, more especially in the present state of the English Church, when our Dioceses are so large, that is to say, comprise such enormous masses of population, and when so many important labours of divers kinds are pressing on the heads of the Church, far beyond the limits of their own particular Dioceses. It surely seems a strangely perverse regulation, that, at the very time when a Bishop most needs every day and every hour to gain a thorough acquaintance, not only with his duties, but also with the whole body of ministers committed to his spiritual guidance, he should be compelled to spend half, or more than half, the year at a distance from his Diocese ; and the evils of this regulation are increast, now that it has become the practice to prolong the Session of Parliament till near the end of the summer ; so that, during the chief part of the season which a Bishop might most conveniently employ in traveling about his Diocese for the exercise of his various spiritual functions therein, he is compulsorily absent for the performance of duties of very inferior importance, and which a number of other clergymen might perform no less fitly and efficiently.

There can hardly be any one amongst you, my reverend brethren, who does not recognise the truth of these remarks ; and I may therefore be excused for giving utterance to the regret, which we all feel, that our Bishop should thus be taken away from us year after year. It is indeed a somewhat singular occurrence,

that the office of Chaplain to the House of Lords should be discharged by a Bishop of Chichester during three successive Sessions of Parliament: but the cases in which the inexpediency of a regulation is the most strongly felt, are the very cases where it is most natural and appropriate that the conviction of that inexpediency should be exprest: and in these days, when our Legislators deem it so light a matter to change and innovate and remodel, some remedy,—it would not be difficult to discover one,—may perhaps be devised for this great practical inconvenience, if it be but distinctly pointed out.

Additional arguments of no small force might be drawn from the aptness of human nature to find a peculiar interest, and a strong spur to exertion, in a new field of action. Hence, if it be desirable that a person should discharge his office with diligence and zeal, and should give up his heart to its duties, we ought to beware of checking and diluting his zeal at the outset by dividing and distracting his attention. According to the usual tendencies of mankind, whatever measure of activity and energy has been displayed in the first year is likelier to diminish than to increase in the following ones: and though, through the help of God's Spirit, which is ever granted to such as devote their hearts and minds to the service of the word, the faithful minister of Christ will rather become more and more diligent every year, still it is anything but prudent to turn aside the bent of Nature, when her impulses themselves would be subservient to the performance of duty, and to waste that freshness of spirit, which seems especially designed to carry us through the difficulties of a new undertaking. Moreover, to take higher ground, no

great work can be performed worthily, unless we fit ourselves for it by a preparatory discipline of meditation and prayer: above all must this hold of the solemn and awful charge entrusted to the Episcopate. Yet one can hardly conceive any mode of life less fitted for such a discipline, than that which a person of eminence is compelled to lead among the manifold unintermitting distractions of the metropolis.

But I must not dwell longer on this topic, though other arguments might be adduced. Let me turn from this wish to another not remotely connected with it. I ventured last year to say a few words on the desirableness of a large increase in the Episcopal Body. Similar wishes have been exprest here and there by others for some years past, ever since the revival of a stronger consciousness of the privileges and duties of the Church: and in the course of the last year they have become more general, and have found utterance in some high quarters: so that the hope, which a twelvemonth ago scarcely dared to shew itself, may now lift up its head (A). We cannot indeed be very sanguine, when we call to mind that like projects have been framed again and again in former times, and have terminated ineffectually, doing little or nothing; so that a person disposed to entertain superstitious feelings about numbers might fancy that the scheme of two Archbishops and twenty-four Bishops, which Gregory framed for the English Episcopate, was in some manner ordained to be coeval with our Church. At all events it is a wonderful fact, that the design which he conceived in his mind when he sent Augustin to convert England, should exactly coincide, at least in the total sum, with the Episcopal

Body of the present day, after the lapse of more than twelve centuries (B). Yet if on the one hand this fills us with admiration for the long-sighted far-reaching wisdom, which could plan a Church to last for twelve centuries, and lay the full germs of its whole future organization, in what was then a heathen country, on the other hand it is plain that a scheme, which was any wise suited to the wants of England with the population and civilization of those days, can never be adequate to our wants now; when the population must be five or six times as numerous, and when the power of the World has been increast incalculably in such a number of ways, and is armed with so many new snares for drawing men away from God. If we consider what was the work the Church had to effect then, and what it is now,—how she had then to preach to bands of fierce, but simple, ignorant, open-hearted heathens, and has now to wrestle with all the perversions and corruptions of the human intellect, with all the refinements and debasements of social life,—how she then had to contend against Moloch, but now has to war against Belial and Mammon and Ashtaroth on every side, along with her ancient enemy,—we cannot fail to perceive that the army of the Faith requires more captains in these days, even as the hosts which come against us are far more numerous, and have far more captains and wilier to lead them.

Or, if we look at the question from a different point of view, with reference, not to the war of the Church against the World, but to the wants and comfort of her own members,—surely, when we think of the fifteen millions of our population, and then of the six and

twenty members of our Episcopal Body, we can hardly help asking, *What are they among so many?* Although they may spend and be spent, how is it possible for them to do, what many of them would do if they could, worthily discharging the office of the chief shepherd in their dioceses? How can they be known by their sheep, even faintly and remotely? How can they carry on those relations of frequent familiar intercourse with all the clergy under their charge, which would be so beneficial to both? If we were to fulfill the idea of an Apostolical Church, the Bishop ought to be the friend, the counsellor, the guide of all his clergy: he ought to know their characters, their feelings, the circumstances of their parishes, their peculiar wants and difficulties: and few measures would do more to strengthen the Church, than if a faithful and holy Bishop were to be seen from time to time exhorting and ministering to the people of the Lord in every Church in his Diocese. Such things however are quite impracticable now. Nor would they become practicable, nor would the wants of the Church be at all adequately supplied, unless the present number of the Episcopal Body were doubled, I should rather say, tripled. Even this would not give us a Bishop for every two hundred thousand souls; for which he ought to have a couple of hundred pastors under him. This may be deemed a very wild scheme. Would not those who so deem of it, have thought that of Gregory, when he commissioned Augustin to establish twenty-six Sees in the land of the heathen Saxons, still wilder? One of the lessons taught by history is, that great enterprises, if followed out resolutely and judiciously, are likelier

to succeed and to produce lasting results, than small ones : and this seems to be sanctioned by the prophetic declaration, *Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it.*

That the opinions I have been expressing meet with your concurrence, I have reason to believe, since so large a number of you responded cordially to my invitation, when I consulted you on the propriety of petitioning the Legislature for the preservation of the two Sees in North Wales; and our petition conveyed a wish for a large increase in the number of Bishops (c). In its immediate object, as you are all aware, it failed; that is, for the time. Still I can hardly persuade myself that the projected transfer will ever actually take place, after it has been shewn so clearly that there is not the slightest ground for it; unless we are to count it a reasonable ground, that the Legislature will not retract a false step, by amending an Act in which it was utterly impossible that all the clauses should have been duly considered, and which was framed moreover during a very different state of national feeling, when few persons would have hoped that the revenues for a See at Manchester could have been drawn from better sources. At present, when it has been shewn so plainly, how a large part of those revenues may be raised, and when it is no vain trust that what might still be lacking would be collected without much difficulty from Manchester itself, and by ready contributions from other parts of the Church, I trust that we are not calling for too great a sacrifice from the framers of the Act for the regulation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, if we request them to alter a provision in it drawn up under very erroneous impressions. Will any one say that

it is beneath the dignity of the Legislature, to own itself mistaken? Surely our Parliament does not lay claim to this practical infallibility. On the contrary its fallibility has been too often evinced and acknowledged of late years, by the necessity for new Acts to correct the errors of those recently enacted: and there is a becoming confession of this fallibility in the provision attached to every Bill for its amendment, if needful, in the course of the same Session. As to the argument on which so much stress was laid, that, unless one of the Welsh Sees is abolished, the new See of Manchester cannot be erected, because it is impossible, in the present state of public feeling, to obtain the admission of another Bishop into the House of Lords,—for my own part,—although we might justly urge that such an addition to the spiritual peerage ought not to be scrupled at, when such large additions have been made in the last two centuries to the temporal peerage,—still, for my own part, I would much rather see a new Bishopric erected, the incumbent of which was to have no seat in the House of Lords. Not that I am insensible to the advantages which the Church, and the far greater advantages which the State derives from the spiritual peerage (D): but I know not whether an addition to the number of the spiritual peers is to be desired. The present number are amply sufficient to exercise a powerful influence in all questions in which religion and public morality are concerned; whereas a larger number might have too much weight in the struggles of political parties. At all events no observer of the spirit of this age would expect to obtain any large addition to the spiritual peerage. Therefore,

since the object we are anxious for is a large addition to our spiritual guides and governors in the Church, I should hail the establishment of a single See unconnected with the peerage, as setting an example, which will remove this difficulty, and therefore may more easily be followed.

You will not deem, I trust, that, in what I have been saying, I am either trespassing on matters which do not properly come under our consideration, or speaking of subjects on which you feel no immediate interest. For who can think of the spectacle which England at this day, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, must present in the sight of heaven,—who, knowing anything of the schism upon schism whereby the Church of Christ is torn in this land, can call to mind how painful this sight must be in the eyes of Him who came in order that all His disciples might be one—who, having heard of the terrific revelations which have recently been made concerning the state of our manufacturing towns, can try to picture to himself what foul blots they must be in the sight of an All-righteous God, to whom the sins of the Cities of the Plain cried so loudly for vengeance,—who can think of these things, and not feel a longing to contribute what help he can, in thought and action, toward the removal of these withering plague-spots from our nation? And the more firmly we are persuaded that the Church which Christ establishd, with its sacramental ministrations, and the word of life committed to its keeping, is the only efficient remedy for all the evils upon earth, for the social evils no less than the individual, the more anxious shall we be to see that portion of it which has been set up in this land, put

forth all its energies, all the power with which the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove can supply it, all the power which Faith can draw down from heaven, or gather from any corner of the earth, so that our exertions may be in some degree commensurate to the enormous exigencies of the times. Moreover all who know how important it is that an army in time of danger should be well officered, and that the officers should be familiarly known and honoured by the soldiers under them,—all who feel the value of order, and subordination, and government,—more especially all who recognise the importance of Episcopacy for the well-disciplined action of the Church,—will join me in wishing that the Episcopal Body in England were really able to meet the wants of the age. I have heard it said in apology for the defects of the clergy during the last century, that the fault did not lie so much in them, as in the officers set over them, and that, if they had been better officered, they too would have done their duty better. We cannot however get rid of our sins, by casting them on the shoulders of our rulers: least of all can we do so in this case. For whence are our rulers taken? do they not come out of our own body? Assuredly too they have not generally been unfavorable samples of that body: nor would it be easy to name many, among those accounted orthodox churchmen, of whom it can be asserted, that they ought to have been selected in preference to the main part of them. No, my Brethren; for our failings, whatever they may be, we alone are responsible; for even if we had not ecclesiastical rulers to exhort and encourage us, yet the Spirit of God was ready

to give us all the strength that we needed, had we only sought it from Him. But on the other hand, while we recognise the full weight of our own personal responsibility, we may feel that, humanly speaking, we should have more strength and wisdom to encounter the many evils which beset us, if our Bishops were able to dwell more amongst us, and to take a more active interest in our parochial concerns. We may feel this to a certain extent even in our own Diocese, though it be one of the smallest; and, if so, like wants must needs press more urgently in others. Nor is it censurable presumption, if we, who are under authority, take upon us to utter our thoughts and desires concerning these matters, the decision of which rests with our superiors, provided we do it calmly and respectfully, and know how to submit and wait with patience, if our desires are not immediately complied with. Surely too none of you, my Brethren, will say that, though these matters might appropriately be brought before the Clergy in other larger Dioceses, they are not such as you personally are deeply concerned in. For is not this one of the great blessings of Christianity, that it widens the range of our sympathies, that it stretches the ties of neighbourhood to an unlimited extent, that it makes us feel a lively interest in that which is far off? This was seen among the first fruits of the Gospel, in the zeal with which different Churches ministered to each other's necessities: and now in these days, when all the modes of communication have been so multiplied and improved, and when our very bodies may be transferred, in a portion of time which would have seemed incredible to our fathers, from one end of the

land to the other,—now, when the narratives of the events of the day and the discussions about them, have almost superseded all other objects of study,—we ought at least to learn this lesson from the many facilities granted to us, that they are not given to us for our own convenience or profit or amusement, but to the end that we may feel ourselves more closely knit and united to all our fellow-countrymen, so that the whole English people may stand as one man in the presence of God.

This, it seems to me, is the real purpose of all our mechanical improvements. By facilitating our mutual communication and correspondence, they should enliven our sympathy with each other, and our efforts to help each other. Yet how far are we from using them to such an end? On the contrary have not our local attachments been sadly relaxt by our growing homelessness? Is not the tendency of our so-called mechanical improvements to root up our ancient hereditary affections, to sever the fluxional body of the upper classes still more from the stationary tillers of the soil, and to render us more than ever the slaves of evanescent novelties and insatiable satiety? The last twelvemonth has made the most appalling disclosures touching the social and moral condition of England. The unsoundness of much of our boasted strength, the hollowness of our wealth had indeed been manifested plainly by many symptoms before: and it had been long foreseen and predicted by such as discerned the unsoundness and hollowness of the principles on which our social edifice was constructed, and by which the actions of our governors and legislators were swayed. So too was it foreseen

and predicted, that, unless vigorous measures were taken to renovate the health of the State, and to eradicate the ever-spreading seeds of disease, every fresh access of fever must be more dangerous than the former (E). Yet what have we done with this view? We have sought for palliatives; we have sought to stave off the evil hour; we have sought for means to get through the day, and have put off the pain of applying a more searching corrective till the morrow. Or we have done a little for the improvement of the people, have dribbled out improvements with the one hand, while we were doing everything with the other to exaggerate their morbid condition, to increase the feverish irritation which increast our riches for the moment, to grind down the hearts and souls of our manufacturing population into the materials of gold. We have been worshipping Mammon; we have been building temples to Mammon unrestingly and indefatigably in all parts of the country. Of late, it is true, we have also been building new churches. But we have built more than ten, yea, more than a hundred temples to Mammon, for every new church; and we have driven our people to worship Mammon for six days in the week from morning to night. How then can we wonder that the teaching and worship in the churches, which are fewer than one to a hundred, on the seventh day, should be of little avail to counteract the poisonous idolatries of the other six? For a long period too we did not even thus much. For a long period we went on piling up riches, mountain upon mountain of gold, straining every nerve of our minds to devise new arts of amassing riches, and gathering swarms and hordes of men who were to

labour like beasts of burden, in order that we might lay up these riches in our stores. Meantime we seemed to have utterly forgotten that we were under any obligation to consecrate a portion of these riches to the Giver. We wanted them all for ourselves; and therefore they were not enough. In vain did we heap up our mountains of gold one upon another; for we were heaping them upon a quicksand: we were heaping them upon our covetousness, upon our luxury, upon our ambition, which swallowed them up faster than we could heap them: and the more our national revenues swelled out, the greater was the accumulation of our debt. Nor did we bethink ourselves that we owed anything to the hordes of men, whom we had drawn together for the sake of heaping up these riches, at least anything beyond their wages. Nay, as the Father of History tells us that the people, who took the gold from the northern Griffins, had a single eye in their head (†), thus many amongst us seem to have fancied that, for the persons who were to be employed in the various crafts for multiplying the riches of the nation, it would be all the better if they had only a carnal eye to look at the earth, and no spiritual eye to lift up to heaven. Until the recent awakening of a greater energy in our Church,—since which much has been done, more especially through the influence of the excellent Bishop of Chester,—the Church and the State, we are forced to confess with penitent shame, had been grievously neglectful of our manufacturing population, and had even left them through a long course of years with little spiritual teaching, except what they might receive from pious members of the dissenting bodies.

And even now, though I said that much has been done recently, I only meant much in comparison with our previous inertness, and much for one man to accomplish. For what has been effected hitherto is very far from adequate to the wants of the people. Indeed it is too manifest that the powers of evil are growing more rapidly than the better powers which are raised up against them. The calm, sober, honorable spirit, which formerly directed the commerce and trade of England, and which contented itself with reasonable profits, has been supplanted by an insatiable voracity for gain; and the miserable philosophy of the age, which taught that emulation is the principle of all moral and intellectual improvement, has beguiled men into believing that emulation, under the form of competition, is in like manner the principle of all commercial and social wellbeing. Yet in commerce the iniquity and destructiveness of this principle is proved still more rapidly than in education (e). For it ensnares men into trying to undersell, with a view of ruining each other, each hoping he shall last the longest, and that then, by a multiplication of small profits, he shall accumulate an enormous gain. Now the immediate effect of such a struggle is to cheapen the articles produced more and more; and for this reason the consumers are delighted with the result, and bless the competition which has brought it about. Similar to this in its disastrous consequences, as in its no less disastrous motives, is the infatuated desire, which has possessed the manufacturers of England to undersell all the nations of Europe; an aim, which, if we could effect it, would doom us to be the one-eyed nation of the earth, the Arimaspians

spending their lives in wresting the gold from the Griffins, who prey upon them in return.

On the political and economical evils which such a system must bring upon England, I cannot speak here, further than as they are connected with a single point, which has led me to introduce these remarks. Where there is this rabid competition, this ravenous thirst after riches, it is plain that moral considerations will be little regarded, and that the machines, inanimate or animate, employed in the production of these riches, will only be cared for so far as they may seem conducive to the immediate end in view. Nay, in the competition of underselling the artisans will be the first sufferers: wages will be lowered to the utmost; the cheapest labour will be sought: hence the employment of women, of children, almost from their cradle: hence the car of Mammon, more cruel and deadly than that of Juggernaut, is driving ceaselessly through England over the crumbling hearts and souls of her people.

My Brethren, you all know what a terrible revelation has been made through the exertions of that true nobleman, who has earned the glorious title of Protector of the oppressed children of England. You remember what appalling pictures he brought forward of the corruption prevailing in many of our manufacturing towns, which Mammon has almost been allowed to turn into schools and seminaries of hell. That revelation produced a unanimity for the moment, which seemed to do honour to our Parliament: party-feeling for a moment seemed awed into silence: it shrank from the spectacle of these horrors: for a moment it

appeared as if our Legislature was really about to adopt some vigorous measures to check and remedy this moral pestilence. But alas! you also know what has been the end of all this? Nothing, or next to nothing. As soon as the picture was withdrawn from sight, party-feeling started up again: and the Bill has been opposed by a part of the nation with such frantic virulence, that the Government have found themselves compelled to abandon, or at least have abandoned, the measure which they had introduced, as a beginning, we hoped, of a more systematic attention to the moral wellbeing of the people. Most thankful do I feel, Brethren, that the Church is free from the guilt of having frustrated this measure. Some provisions in it were indeed such, that a large portion of our body could not cordially approve of them; and, had the condition of England been different, we might have been justified in requesting that those provisions should be altered. But, considering how England is distracted by Schism of all kinds, and considering the obligation of the State to provide for the moral wellbeing of every large body of its members, for my own part I have been led to think that the provisions for education in the Bill, as originally brought in, were on the whole expedient and wise. The great body of the Church too seem to have concurred in this opinion; or else they were reluctant to do anything that might hinder or thwart a well-meant measure, designed to allay such a terrible evil; and perhaps, recognising the impossibility of accomplishing all they would have wisht, they resolved to acquiesce in a plan, which appeared practicable and likely to be beneficial, and to render such assistance as the Legislature might

require of them in carrying it out. By what arts the rejection of the Bill has been effected, will never be fully known. That all manner of exaggerations and misrepresentations have been practised, is too certain; and there is much ground to suspect that gross frauds have contributed to swell the number of the Petitions. Well! the Dissenters think they have gained a triumph: they think they have exhibited greater strength than ever before: but let us be assured, my Brethren, that such a triumph is a fatal and shameful disaster, and that such strength is miserable weakness. Let us resolve that, whatever we may be called on to do, toward delivering the children of England out of their moral degradation, we will do gladly, if it be not plainly at variance with our duty to our Lord and His Church (H). This however is not all. The eyes of England have been opened to discern the abominations which she is cherishing within her bosom. May she close them again? God forbid! Until the evil be removed, at least until some efficient steps are taken for its removal, we must lift up our voices and cry, *Ah, sinful nation! a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters!* As I exhorted you last year, let us each, in our several stations, do what we can to help Lord Ashley in his heroic task of delivering the children of England from the clutches of Mammon and from the jaws of hell (I).

I have said, and I repeat it with much thankfulness, that the conduct of the Church, as represented by her ministers, on occasion of this Bill, has been worthy of her position, calm and temperate and dignified, and that she is no way implicated directly in the rejection

of a measure, for which there was such crying need. Indeed her bearing has drawn praises from those who had not been wont at other times to lavish them upon her. The guilt of having frustrated the Act for the Education of the children in our Factories lies wholly with the Dissenters, whose opposition has been carried on in the most factious and schismatical spirit (j). But, though we are not implicated immediately in the rejection, are we, the members and ministers of the Church, wholly innocent of all participation in the causes which have occasioned it? If we were, I should hardly have said more than a very few words on this point; for, among all subjects of contemplation, the two most unprofitable, I have ever found, are our own merits, and the faults of our neighbours. But the most cursory observation of recent events must have taught us that the chief motive by which the various bodies of Dissenters, even those who at other times have been least hostile to our Church, were stirred to this factious violence, has been a dread of the incursions and influx of what is vulgarly called Popery. This dread has been increast by all manner of exaggerations and misrepresentations, and by the imputing of feelings to the whole Church, from which feelings a very small portion of her members at the utmost would not revolt. But still, Brethren, can we say that we ourselves have done nothing to excite and aggravate this dread? I am afraid that we have done much, nay, that opposite parties amongst us have, in opposite ways, heapt up the fuel by which this conflagration has been kindled. For has it not been a cry amongst ourselves for some years past, that a large portion of the teachers in our Church were falling away

from the truth, and trying to revive the worst errors and corruptions of the Romish Church? I am not saying that this cry has been wholly without ground. It may be, that certain doctrinal errors have been gaining currency of late years, at variance with the principles of pure evangelical truth, and betraying an affinity to those errors, which, being in themselves akin to the selfish tendencies of human nature, overspread and darkened the Church during the middle ages, and are still tainting the sources of spiritual life in a large part of Christendom. It may be, that the proneness of man to self-exaltation has been perverting the love and honour which we are all bound to pay to the Church of our Lord, as the Communion of Saints, the Fulness of Him who fills all in all. It may be, that some have been too ready to limit the Church of Christ to our own national Church, and to narrow the Church to the Clergy, thus arrogating a large portion of the honour and power, which are due solely to Christ, for themselves as His servants and ministers and ambassadors. Moreover it is too certain, that, in the last two or three years, a tone has been assumed by a few writers in speaking of the Reformation, and its doctrines, and its authors, which is wholly incompatible with a true love for the Church of England, as it has existed since the Reformation, and which seems to warrant the suspicion that those writers personally do indeed wish to chain England again to the usurping See of Rome. Still, whatever there may have been of error or offense in the writings referred to, the clamorous outcry which has been raised against the promulgators and holders of the new opinions, is immeasurably

beyond the extent of the offense. More especially was it so in the first instance; and instead of lessening and correcting, it has much rather magnified that offense, and inflamed it by continual fretting and irritation. Surely when persons are acknowledgedly so eminent for learning, for piety, and for holiness, it might be expected that, if they who profess to be *spiritual* concern themselves about them, they would attempt, according to the Apostle's exhortation, *to restore them in the spirit of meekness*; and much reason have we, all of us, *to consider ourselves. lest we also fall into error*. Yet how few ever think this possible! or who can be brought to distrust his own infallibility? And what is the tone which has been taken by a large body of the Church toward the writers in question? Reproofs, invectives, denunciations: every word is watcht and sifted; every expression is strained to and fro in the hope of eliciting some mischief out of it: all shades of opinion, however distinct, are confounded: whoever recognises any of the truths which have been brought forward more prominently of late years, is charged with all the extremes of opinion whereby those truths have been distorted, and is branded with one of the popular nicknames. Inundated as we are with a periodical literature, with journals quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily, which subsist by catching the interest of the moment, and rejoice in whatever is likely to produce a temporary ferment, but which, it is plain, are most unfit channels for the discussion of deep questions in theology, all manner of readers, old and young, clerical and lay, more or less ignorant, male and alas! female also, men, women, and children, are swept along by the flood,

and are heard swelling the din of theological controversy. The other day I happened to look through the last number of two of our theological Journals, the writers in which seem for the most part to be clergymen, betokening a lively interest in the cause of evangelical truth. Yet from first to last each of them was an almost continuous invective against the opinions which are supposed to be leading our Church back into Romanism; and the tone and spirit were such, that one might almost have fancied one had got among a pack of hounds in full cry after their prey, rather than among a body of sober, reasonable Christian divines. Is it then to be wondered at, that, when we treat and speak of our brethren in this way,—when we throw all those who have any reverence for antiquity, or who pay attention to the externals of religious worship, or who are anxious for a greater frequency of devotional exercises, or who practise any outward acts of self-denial, into one mass, as will-worshippers and covert papists,—is it to be wondered at, that the Dissenters should take up our cry, and be still more indiscriminate in applying it, charging the great body of the Church with those errors, which we ourselves are so ready to ascribe to a large number of our brethren? One way of shaming an angry man is to bid him look at himself in a glass, and observe how his features are swollen and inflamed and distorted; and the spectacle of the drunken Helots was deemed the most powerful lesson of sobriety. May it not be hoped that, when we see our conduct toward our brethren mirrored in that of the Dissenters toward them and toward ourselves also, we may be taught that what is evidently

so unbecoming and reprehensible in others, cannot be altogether seemly and right in ourselves?

Here they who are so strenuous in their hostility to the opinions recently propagated in our Church, may perhaps rejoin, that the blame ought rather to be cast on those who have furnisht the ground for it, by maintaining and circulating doctrines inconsistent with those ever held by our Church since the Reformation, and plainly repugnant to evangelical truth. Now doubtless, so far as these errours have in any respect been wilful,—that is to say, so far as they have arisen from any morbid self-indulgence of the imagination, or of the understanding,—so far as the holders of them have encouraged a dreamy antipathy to the present state of the world, and, instead of looking earnestly and searchingly to make out its real character and worth, and setting themselves heart and mind to correct the evils within their own spheres, and to extricate and foster the better and more promising elements, have turned away in a disgust, no less flattering to the slothfulness than to the self-exaltation of our nature, pampering their fancies with delusive visions of former ages, and with fantastical wishes for their revival,—or so far as they have taken pleasure in displaying their ingenuity by defying and controverting received notions, and subverting the establisht order of thoughts, by trying ostentatiously to prove that what has for ages been accounted evil is good, and that what all deem to be good is evil, that bitter is sweet, and sweet bitter, that darkness is light, and light darkness,—they who have thus estranged themselves from reality, and amused themselves in playing fast and loose with truth, are deservedly liable to

much blame. So are those who have wantonly and irreverently assailed the men and the doctrines most dear and sacred to the heart of every faithful member of our Church,—those who, in the presumption of half-knowledge, seeing a few things in a strong light, and hence misjudging the relation between these and all other things, have rashly taken upon themselves to send a sword through our Church, for the sake of setting up their own idols, and of overthrowing whatever opposes them. Such persons deserve to be reproved; and it is requisite for the upholding of the truths which they impugn, that they should be so, with a severity in proportion to their offense. For in such things also he who loves will chasten. But, while our Christian profession demands of us that we should refrain from bringing forward anything like a railing accusation, it is clear that, if we desire to convince our brethren of their errors, and to win them back to sounder views, we ought to begin by recognising those portions of truth which they do actually hold, and to contend, not against those truths altogether, but merely against the exaggeration and exclusiveness with which they are promulgated. It is a lesson which we all need to learn, and which very few have ever learnt to much purpose, that, though truths may often seem to be opposite, they can never be contrary, but will ever be co-ordinate; so that, if we trace them to their centre, we shall find that they diverge from the same point, and balance and strengthen each other.

No little censure again is due to those, who, from an inordinate fondness for the externals of public worship, such as is by no means ordinarily symptomatic of a

corresponding zeal in behalf of inward spiritual religion, have busied themselves in introducing novelties, or, which practically will often amount to the same thing, reviving what had become obsolete, in regard to postures, vestments, decorations, and other like matters, acting herein on their own judgement, without previously seeking counsel and direction from higher authority, and who by this course have offended the habitual predilections of their parishioners, and have awakened a number of misgivings and suspicions and jealousies. On this point let me say a few words; for there may be some amongst you whom they may concern. The conduct I have been speaking of is connected, more or less remotely, with a tendency very prevalent in our age, especially among the young, to assume that everything in the existing state of the world is wrong, and that it has been reserved for them to set everything right. The feelings and notions exprest in those fine lines of our great poet,—

Of old things all are over-old ;
Of good things none are good enough ;
But we will shew that we can frame
A world of other stuff;—

this discontented, selfconfident spirit, which has found such manifold vent in the revolutionary proceedings of the last half-century, may be seen working in all manner of ways, and scarcely less conspicuously among those who deem themselves called to wage war against the revolutionary spirit. Every other young man of a buoyant, ardent temper is prone to believe that he has hit upon the secret how to regenerate the world, and

that, in following out his plan, he may justifiably neglect the halting, temporizing counsels of prudence, and set all common opinions, all the affections which are wont to cluster around customary institutions and usages, at defiance. Such a person, when he takes orders, and enters upon his first cure, will be ready to suppose that he shall heal all the evils in his parish by some new scheme or practice. Now this tendency in youth is by no means altogether reprehensible or mischievous. For, although they who are to improve the existing order of things, ought to understand it well in its various complicated bearings, its workings and interworkings, so that the task of reforming would seem to require the fulness of mature experience, still, when we consider how apt years are to bring on an apathetic contentment with that with which we are familiar, and how our familiarity itself will deaden our sense of the evils in it, we may be thankful that the young are animated with a spirit fitted for counteracting this apathy. Only, as this is their natural bent, they need to be warned that they must not indulge it rashly, inconsiderately, offensively. The current of such feelings during the last few years has lain strongly in the direction of improvements, or at least of innovations in the Church, more especially in such matters as are external,—which therefore do not presuppose any deep moral or spiritual convictions, but will easily stir the fancy, and seem of great moment to a cultivated taste,—ecclesiastical architecture, and the ceremonials of divine worship (κ). Often and earnestly as I have exhorted you to do what you can for bettering the architectural character of your Churches, you will not

suppose that I mean to deplore or disparage the increase of interest felt in ecclesiastical architecture. But, as there is always an exaggerative tendency in mankind, especially among the young, and as there is ever a rush to the leeward the moment the wind changes, many persons seem to think that the great work of the Church in our days is to restore her old churches, that this is the one thing needful, and that, when this is accomplished, faith and holiness will come of themselves. Yet surely no reasonable Christian can doubt that a barn, with faith and holiness in those who gather to worship therein, is a worthier temple of God, and more acceptable in His sight, than the most splendid minster in the land, unless the more precious living ornaments of faith and holiness are found there. These then are what we must labour above and before all to foster, according to the power that God may give us: these should be the object of our daily prayers and constant endeavours, so that we may help in building up the spiritual Church of those purified living stones, which alone can have place in it. And then, in a secondary and subordinate manner, we may also think of doing what in us lies for the beautifying and adorning of God's outward house, provided that we are careful not to hinder the higher objects of our aim thereby. A like caution is still more needful with regard to any innovations we may make in the order and ceremonial of divine worship. Here a second maxim should guide us: the less important the change we may desire to make, the tardier and more cautious should we generally be in making it; for the more likely will it mostly be to give offense. If we revive a better practice in matters which tend to promote

spiritual edification, as, for instance, by introducing baptisms during divine service, or a more frequent administration of the Holy Communion, all the better-minded among our congregation will readily acknowledge the benefits that may be hoped for from such changes. But when we innovate in things which are of no intrinsic importance, which have nothing beyond a symbolical meaning,—as in placing candles upon the Lord's table, or in adopting an unusual dress, or an unusual posture in celebrating any part of the service,—the seriously disposed in our congregation are likely to think that we attach an inordinate value to an outward form, and to revolt from such proceedings with that disgust, which the pious always feel at whatever is merely formal in the worship of God (L). Yet there are persons in these days, who appear to deem that the salvation of the Church depends on reviving the practice of wearing copes, or on setting a couple of lightless candles on the Lord's table: and, alas! there are ministers who feel no scruple about offending the best part of their congregation by such pitiable trifling. Therefore let me earnestly exhort and entreat you, my Brethren, especially the younger part of you, to exercise the utmost caution, the utmost discretion, before you venture on such innovations. He who has gained the confidence and love of his parishioners by a long residence among them, and by giving proof that his affections are indeed set on things above, and that the first object of his thoughts and wishes is the spiritual welfare of his flock, will mostly be able to carry the goodwill of his people along with him in whatsoever changes he may deem expedient. The

younger ministers I would advise to win that goodwill by diligence and faithfulness in their pastoral duties, before they think of introducing alterations in externals. There have been times indeed when such alterations might be made safely, and would have excited little attention: but those times are gone by for the present. A fear that a large portion of our Church, especially of its ministers, are lapsing toward Romanism has past through the land, and is busily prying after evidence to confirm its suspicions. This fear has been bred in great part, and mainly fostered, by those very practices against which I am warning you. For doctrinal errors can only be appreciated by a few; but practices force themselves on the observation of all. Yet rash young men, thinking they have discovered a profound hidden truth, when they have merely raked out some exploded conceit, have been zealously reviving a number of obsolete usages, without shewing a like diligence in feeding their flock with the word of life. Should such a course spread, it would be disastrous to our Church. Contention would grow fiercer and fiercer: schisms would widen: large bodies of our people would leave us; and the ranks of Dissent would be swelled. Our duty with regard to all such matters is admirably set before us in that beautiful passage of the Epistle to the Romans, which contains the words of a divine wisdom especially needful at this day to all parties in the Church: *Let us not therefore judge one another any more; but judge this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock or an occasion to fall in his brother's way.—If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, thou walkest not charitably: destroy not*

him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. Let not then your good be evil spoken of: for the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. O that both parties in the Church would endeavour to regulate their conduct by these principles! that we were as careful as St Paul not to give offense, and as reluctant to take offense! and that we could all discern the great truth, and seek and pray to discern it more clearly, that the kingdom of God does not lie in rites and ceremonies, or anything outward, but in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost! If we, any of us, find a brother doing that which is likely to make his neighbours look upon him with an evil eye, let us try to restrain him by kind and gentle counsel: and let us all learn from the manner in which our quarrels have been exaggerated and turned against us by the Dissenters, what we have failed to learn from our Lord's words, that a house divided against itself cannot stand. In truth how can we think without bitter shame, that, if the question were asked among the angels and saints in Heaven, what is the Church of England doing in the year of grace eighteen hundred and forty three, when so many hosts of evil spirits are battling fiercely against her and against God, —the answer would be, she is quarreling and splitting into schism about preaching in a black gown or a white (M).

The matters I have been speaking of hitherto have been connected with measures which have been brought before Parliament during the present Session. Another measure of great importance to the Church has engaged the attention of the Legislature: I mean the Bill for the regulation of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The time

will not allow me to go into the details of this Bill, which now seems likely to be postponed to another year. In some parts the desire of fashioning everything anew may perhaps have led its framers to make too sweeping alterations; and we may hope that what is faulty in this respect will be corrected, before it is brought forward again. Still the principles of the Bill are such on the whole, that we may well feel thankful to see them recognised, and for the attempt to establish them. A large diminution in the number of the Ecclesiastical Courts seems to be very desirable; and still more desirable is it that their spiritual jurisdiction should be separated from the civil jurisdiction, with which it has been mixt up, and by which it has been cramped and overlaid, so as to have become wholly inoperative for a long time past. This is the part of the Bill which is of the deepest interest to the Church, inasmuch as it holds out a prospect that, if we proceed soberly and discreetly, and if God is pleased to allay the present disastrous strife,—if we do not thwart His gracious purposes by our headstrong prejudices and jealousies and suspicions,—we may be enabled in time to establish a more efficient discipline than has subsisted in England since the Reformation. Such a discipline is urgently needed for the maintenance of order and the repressing of immorality. In my Charge two years ago, I spoke of one class of offenses deplorably frequent, which call loudly for some efforts to restrain them, and which doubtless might be restrained and greatly diminished by a wise and sound discipline. There are also many other classes of sinful acts and practices, which are sometimes spoken of generally under

the head of immorality,—offenses of which the Law takes no cognisance, because the Law rightly deems that its office is to repress breaches of the peace, and civil injuries to person, or property, or character;—but which are utterly incompatible with our Christian name and profession, and which, since the Law does not touch them, the Church from the first has felt it her duty to condemn and check by her spiritual authority and censure; as we learn especially from the directions given by St Paul to the Church of Corinth. Now this authority and these censures have scarcely been exercised for several generations. Is it that the sins, which are their proper objects, have become extinct, or have so greatly diminisht in frequency and enormity, that we may hope to keep them down by mere exhortation? Alas, we cannot delude ourselves into supposing that this is the reason why the Church has ceast to utter her censures. Whatever the reason may be, it certainly is not that the vices to which they used to be affixt, have become extinct in England. Atrocious crimes may perhaps have become less frequent of late years. Some vices may have become unfashionable, and may now be comparatively rare among those who draw their rule of life from the voice of honour and of public opinion. But still there is a fearful black mass of vice, the smoke of which mounts up to Heaven from all parts of the land, and for the dispersion of which the Church has been armed with the powers of the Sun of Righteousness. The long intermission in the exercise of her discipline has rather arisen from two causes, one of them common to us with most other nations of Europe, the other resulting from the peculiar condition and

relations of the Church in England: and both these causes we should try to counteract and to remove. The first is that laxity which naturally grows up in ages of luxurious refinement, the encroachment of the World, in all its forms, upon the Church, the ever widening growth and diffusion of a profane literature, and the diminution of that reverence with which simpler ages regarded the consecrated ministers and the holy law of God. Against that which is evil in these influences it is our duty to contend, with all the weapons with which the word of God and the help of His Spirit will arm us. But there is also another cause appropriate to England, arising from the mode of the connexion between our Church and the State. This has led in divers cases to an intermixture and confusion of the offices and duties belonging to each: and one of the instances in which this confusion has prevailed, to the great detriment of the Church and of the whole nation, has been the practice of attaching civil penalties to spiritual censures. At one time this might be done without exciting much opposition: but for the last two centuries, during which the Church of Christ in England has been so grievously rent by Schism, the inexpediency and injustice of such a combination have become more and more strongly apparent. What was admissible and might be deemed warrantable when the Church was coextensive with the nation, became utterly unfit when a large part of the nation no longer acknowledged any allegiance to the Church. Besides, the clearer insight we gain into the true principles of Jurisprudence, the more we recognise the appropriate office of Law, and the distinct spheres of the Church and

the State, the greater repugnance must we needs feel to that which confounds them: and doubtless a more or less intelligent feeling of this kind cooperated in dictating the legal enactments by which the spiritual authority of the Church has been so sadly baffled, and almost annulled. It has been felt that her censures, at all events in the present state of England, ought not to be enforced by civil penalties: only, instead of adopting the right course of freeing the spiritual censures from the civil consequences which encumbered them, our legislators chose rather to throw difficulties in the way of exercising both the one and the other; so that they became next to a nullity (n). Yet on the other hand it has been deeply felt in every age since the Reformation, by those who were rightly zealous for the honour of our Lord and for the purity of His Church, that the want of a more effective discipline was the great calamity and scandal of our Church. In every age this has been urged more or less strongly: all good men have acknowledged the justice of the complaint: yet nothing has been done. On the contrary discipline has continually become laxer: and doubtless this has often been a leading motive in inducing pious men to secede from the Church, and to join one of the dissenting communities,—which are not subject to the same difficulties,—or to set up a new congregation of their own (o). At present however, since one great difficulty has been done away by the repeal of the Test Act, and by the other recent measures for the removal of the disabilities under which the Dissenters lay, and when spiritual censures, it would seem, are to be disencumbered from the civil penalties which have hitherto

hampered them, may we not hope that, if the Church is not unmindful of her duty, and does not waste and impair the new life and strength which God has graciously poured into her, by her divisions and quarrels, we may, under God's blessing, effect something for the correction of that immorality by which England is so wofully defaced, and thus contribute in this way also toward the great end and object, which her ministers ought to be ever striving after, of presenting her pure and without spot before her Lord ?

If such an object is to be accomplished, or if we are even to make any approach to it, the spiritual discipline of the Church must extend over all her members, the laity as well as the clergy. This is a point the more necessary to insist on, because, though everybody readily acknowledges the spiritual authority of the Church over her clergy, and many mouths are ever open to complain that it is not exercised more vigilantly, the generality of people, I believe, have little notion that the laity ought also to be subject to it. This is doubtless connected in part with the lamentable confusion which has long prevailed about the meaning and nature of the Church, and the forgetting that the laity are quite as much members of the Church as the clergy (P). At the same time we most willingly confess and declare, that, if sins of immorality among the laity ought to be repressed by spiritual censures, it is of far greater urgency that they who minister in the congregation should be distinguished by purity of life and sanctity of manners. Now here, my brethren, I have a couple of remarks to address to you. The first relates to your own conduct. Our ministers are ordained, our curates are licenced, our

incumbents are instituted by the Bishop: and Bishops are especially bound to take care that the persons whom they ordain and licence and institute, shall be men of pure life, becoming their sacred office. A Bishop however has no power of ubiquity: he cannot in ordinary cases know what has been the previous life of the persons who present themselves before him. To ascertain this, he is compelled to rely in great measure on the testimony of others; and the usual practice, as you all know, is to require testimonials of character signed by a certain number of clergymen, who profess themselves well acquainted with the applicant. Now this is a matter of conscience, a matter of sacred responsibility: the honour of the Church is compromised, the welfare of souls is hazarded, by the admission of unworthy ministers. Therefore no one ought to sign such a testimonial, unless he has a reasonable ground for believing that the person whose merits he attests, is really qualified for his sacred office. Yet in this matter, as I know from frequent experience, great carelessness prevails. Few like to say, *No*, to refuse an urgent request: people are unwilling to do what may hurt the prospects of their neighbour: and thus, through a blind and weak goodnature, men who are utterly unfit for the ministry gain an entrance into it; grievous scandals are excited; and the salvation of souls is periled. Yet, even for the person who is treated with this over-indulgence, it would often be far better that he should adopt another line of life, for which he may be better suited. Therefore let me earnestly request and advise you, my brethren, never to affix your signature to any testimonials, except where you feel assured that you have good ground for believing the truth of what you certify.

The other observation, and the last which I shall address to you today, relates in part to myself personally, but more to the office which I have the honour to hold amongst you. I am referring, as you will suppose, to the action which was brought against me at the last Assizes, the occasion and particulars of which, I think I may assume, are pretty well known to the chief part of you. To you, my reverend Brethren, it must have been distressing and painful to see your Archdeacon the object of such a charge, which, though it did not take the form of a criminal proceeding, yet, had it been substantiated, would have implied most reprehensible misconduct, and to see the respected name of your Bishop also involved in it. For myself, I felt this so strongly, that, when I first received notice of the action, I said to the friend who was with me, that, unless my conduct could be fully justified, unless the letter, which was asserted to be libelous, could be shewn to have been written in the conscientious discharge of my duty, without the slightest illwill toward any one, or even intemperance of language, I should be unworthy of the office which I hold in the Church; and I soon after declared to the Bishop, that in that case I should request him to appoint another Archdeacon in my stead. But as it is, from the very kind expressions of sympathy and full cordial approbation which I have received from many of you, I feel warranted in believing that you do not think any blame attaches to my conduct in this matter. And here let me take this opportunity of assuring you publicly, as I am enabled to do from a thorough acquaintance with all the circumstances, as one thing after another came to light, that the conduct of your

Bishop also, through the whole of this sad proceeding, has been marked by the most considerate kindness, and by a faithful attention to the duties of his office. I feel bound to give you this public assurance, because many persons, from a partial knowledge of the circumstances, have thought that in one respect he ought to have acted otherwise; and even the Judge upon the bench, from a like imperfect acquaintance with those circumstances, and with the motives which determined the Bishop's conduct at the various stages of the affair, express an opinion which sounded like a censure, and has been so interpreted. Here too I would also beg leave to give utterance to my deep thankfulness to the advocates by whom my cause was defended,—not for their ability,—that we are accustomed to expect and find at the English Bar,—but for the exceeding delicacy with which they conducted the whole case, and for the truly honorable, the gentlemanly and churchmanly feeling which they shewed. They seemed impressed with a conviction that the honour of the Church was concerned in the trial, that the cause committed to their hands was hers, and that they must not sully it by a single intemperate word, even by what on other occasions would have been no way indecorous. Thus in their cross-examinations their tone was rather like that of well-bred conversation in a drawing-room, than of an interrogatory in a court of law (q).

You will not deem it wrong or irrelevant that I should say thus much concerning a personal matter, in which I cannot but feel that, in consequence of my position amongst you, you must all have taken some interest. But I have a more important reason for speaking of it.

When I wrote the letter which was the subject of the action, I did so under the persuasion, under which I have acted ever since I became your Archdeacon, that the moral character of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry is among the matters of which I am officially bound to take cognisance, not indeed for the sake of exercising any jurisdiction over them by my own authority, but in order that I may inform the Bishop of all such things as it may seem to me desirable he should be acquainted with, so that he may exercise a vigilant superintendence over the moral conduct of his Clergy. This persuasion, I have reason to know, many of you share with me: indeed I should think it is common to you all: for I had no notion that its correctness was questionable, until I heard the Judge at the recent trial lay it down as the law of England, that an Archdeacon has no concern officially with the moral character of the clergy, or with anything beyond the fabric and ornaments of the churches. That this proposition is entirely at variance with the history and canons and customs of the Church, I have the fullest conviction; and, had the verdict at Lewes been different, we should have made this assertion in the Judge's Charge a ground for applying for a new trial. In that case I doubt not we should have gained a more correct exposition of the law on this head from the Court of Common Pleas. Or had not the motion for a new trial, which was actually made, been abandoned, before we had an opportunity of replying to it, we should have endeavoured, if permitted by the Court, to argue this point before them. As it is, feeling that the question is one of considerable moment for the welfare of the Church, and that, if the

proposition laid down by the Judge be held to be the law of the land, the Archdeacon would be divested of the most important and useful part of his duties, — knowing too what weight must ever attach to the assertion of a Judge from the Bench, and that such *dicta prudentum*, when uncontroverted, go to make up the law,—I feel it my duty to bring forward some portion of those historical and documentary proofs, which shew that the Archdeacon has been accustomed and was held bound ever since the Reformation, and for several centuries before, to make strict enquiry into the moral character and conduct of the Clergy within his jurisdiction, and to correct the minor offenses himself, to represent the major to the Bishop.

Indeed by one of the Constitutions of Othobon, which are among the chief authorities in our ancient Ecclesiastical Law, an Archdeacon who neglected to do his duty in this respect was to be excommunicated (R). In the Acts of our Convocation too since the Reformation there are several enactments enforcing the same duty. Thus in the Canons of 1571 it is ordered: “Archidiaconi in omnes delinquentes severe et graviter animadvertent, neque connivebunt ad vitia, aut quemquam, quem constat offendisse, impune abire patientur.” Again the thirteenth Canon of 1575 is, “That all Archdeacons, and others who have ordinary jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and their officers or deputies, shall call before them all such person and persons as shall be detected or presented before them, or any of them, of any ecclesiastical crime or fault, and shall use all means by law prescribed to convince (convict) and punish such as be found to be offenders, effectually, upon pain of suspension from his

and their office." Here you see that the jurisdiction extends to all those moral offenses, of which the Ecclesiastical Law took cognisance, even on the part of the laity; and of course *a fortiori* it comprises all similar offenses on the part of the clergy. In like manner it is enjoined by the Canons of 1597, that, whenever a sentence of excommunication "in immediatam poenam cujusvis notoriae haereseos, schismatis, simoniae, perjurii, usurae, incestus, adulterii, seu gravioris alicujus criminis venerit infligenda, sententia ipsa vel per archiepiscopum, episcopum, decanum, *archidiaconum*,—in propria persona pronuntiabitur, una cum ejusmodi frequentia et assistentia, quae ad majorem rei auctoritatem conciliandam conducere videbitur." These extracts are amply sufficient to shew that the province of an Archdeacon, according to the rules of our Ecclesiastical Law, was not confined, as was laid down by the Judge at the late trial, to the fabric and ornaments of the churches within his district, but extended over all offenses cognisable by that Law (s). And even among the Canons of 1604, there are several relating to the presentments for crimes and moral enormities to be made at the Visitations; and the context shews that this was to be done principally at the Visitations of the Archdeacon, who is enjoined in the 121st Canon "to certify to the Bishop, or his Chancellor, the names and crimes of all such as are detected and presented in his Visitation." Accordingly I have seen, in Articles of Enquiry issued in the seventeenth century, that it was the practice for the Archdeacons, as well as the Bishops, to make a rigid and minute investigation into the moral character and conduct of the parochial clergy (x). In the Articles which

I found current in this Archdeaconry, there was no question bearing on this point: but I am informed by my brother of Chichester, that a general enquiry concerning the moral conduct of the clergy is among the Articles issued from time immemorial in his Archdeaconry; and similar ones are found in others. Hence, taking warning from the recent trial, if I live to hold another Visitation, I purpose to introduce a query to this effect.

Before I take leave of this subject, let me deprecate the notion that, in what I have been saying, I have meant to convey anything like censure on the excellent Judge who presided in the Court at Lewes, with exemplary patience, and with an evident earnest desire that no prejudice or prepossession should be allowed in any degree to sway the scales of justice; and who has given proof on many occasions that he is not only a profound lawyer, but also a dutiful and loving son of the Church. I regret that I should have to bring forward an objection to anything that he said in his Charge. Had the matter been merely personal, I should not have spoken on it: but his assertion, if let pass uncontroverted, would tend to cut off the most important part of the duties of my office: and our Bishops, in the present scantiness of our Episcopate, would be very little able to watch over the moral conduct of their Clergy, unless they, who are especially termed their Eyes, were bound and authorized to help them in carrying on the investigations necessary for the exercise of such a superintendence. Nor can I doubt that you, my reverend Brethren,—desirous as you must needs be that every care should be taken to keep persons of impure lives

out of our sacred ministry, and that, if any such nevertheless intrude, they should, if possible, be cast out again, so that the simple members of Christ's flock may not be offended, that unbelievers may not have reason to insult and blaspheme, that the Church may not be visited with shame and reproach, nor her holy altars polluted by those who officiate at them,—I cannot doubt, my Brethren, that you must earnestly wish that every facility should be afforded for preserving the Church from the foul spots by which her garments have frequently been defiled, and that the numerous legal difficulties, which have often hindered our Bishops from putting away the unclean person from the ministry, may not be increast, but diminisht, and, if possible, wholly removed (v).

It still remains for me to say a few words to you, my friends, who are come as Churchwardens on this occasion. But I have left myself no time for talking about your duties. Of one portion of them however, that which relates to the churches committed to your keeping, I have spoken pretty fully in former years, as many of you doubtless remember. Therefore I will only exhort you to bear continually in mind, that the building which you are commissioned to take care of is the house of God: and seeing that God has built such a beautiful and rich house for man, a house roofed with the blue sky, and having a carpet of green grass, and golden corn, and flowers, and fruit-trees, and forest trees, spread over its floor, it assuredly behoves us not to build a mean and sordid, but a noble and beautiful house for God, as noble and beautiful as we can make it. Our ancestors felt this when they built our churches.

Your business is to keep up these churches, to restore them when they are decayed, to remove what ignorance and parsimony have done to deface them. The chief improvements which I have recommended to you before, I still recommend no less strongly. Get rid of the pews, which choke up the floor of your churches: get rid of the wooden bars which disfigure the windows: get rid of the whitewash which besmears the walls. If any of you can pay a visit to that grand church at Winchelsea, you will see how its grandeur is impaired, and almost destroyed, by the whitewash with which the pillars, and even those fine old monuments, are bedaubed. If that church were properly restored, it would be the finest in East Sussex. Even in this church, where we are now assembled, if you will look around, you will see how much needs to be done, work which will take half a century, unless the Churchwardens make more progress in future years than during the last four. I have had much pleasure in seeing the improvements which are now going on in St Anne's Church here in Lewes. But the work there will be sadly imperfect, the most important part will be left undone, until those huge high pews are removed, which are still more offensive to the moral sense than to the eye. Go to Falmer Church, go to Stanmer, go to St John's Church in this town; you will see the people really looking like one congregation of the Lord, joined together in prayer and worship. The appearance indeed would be much handsomer if the backs of the seats were solid, instead of mere rails; but this is a secondary matter. The important thing is, that the congregation should be united together, instead of our

having each person, or each family, insulated and kept apart. How can people, penned up within those high walls, feel that they are joining in worship with their brethren, the crown of whose heads they can scarcely see? There is an old saying, of which the English are proud, and not without reason, that *every man's house is his castle*. This belongs indeed to a ruder state of society, but is a ground for thankfulness, as declaring that, through the power of the laws, the house of the poorest man in England is to be no less sacred and inviolable, no less capable of protecting him and his family from wrong and oppression, than the turreted and battlemented castle of the proudest baron, garrisoned by his men at arms. When this saying however is transferred from the State to the Church, from that which through the circumstances of the age was inevitably the seat of lawlessness and discord, to that which ought in all ages to be the seat of peace and love,—when people say, as too many seem to say in their hearts, that *every man's pew is his castle*,—the whole order of truth is inverted. We do not come to church to shut ourselves up within the walls of pride, but to prostrate ourselves before God, and to open our hearts to Him in humble penitent confession. We do not come to fence ourselves in and guard ourselves round from our neighbours, but to be united to them as children of the same Father, members of the same Lord, heirs of the same glorious inheritance, rich and poor, gentle and simple, one with another. This is the reason which makes me so desirous to get rid of whatever seems to cut us off from each other in church. This is the reason why, year after year, I urge you so strongly to remove those

eyesores and heartsores by which your churches are disfigured (v).

Besides, in what I have been saying about discipline, you who are Churchwardens are all intimately concerned. If the Church recovers her spiritual powers, it will be your special office to minister to her in the discharge of these functions by the presentment of offenders. Even now you may do much for the preservation of order and peace in your several parishes, if you will only work cordially along with your minister. You may do much in keeping order in church during divine service, which is one of your peculiar obligations. You may do much by frequent advice and exhortation to your parishioners to be regular in attending the worship of God, and still more by setting them the example of such regularity, to which indeed you are especially bound by the very act of undertaking your office. You may do much by admonishing parents to send their children regularly and punctually to school, and by using your influence to dissuade the farmers from employing the labour of young children who ought to be laying up a store of knowledge against the years when they will have no time for learning. Thus yours, if properly discharged, is a most useful and honorable office, by the worthy discharge of which you may contribute greatly toward setting your parishes in order, and helping your ministers in leading their people in the ways of righteousness and life.

Thus we have all heavy duties pressing on us; immeasurable fields of labour are stretching out before us; clouds are gathering round us; storms are threatening;

thunder is rolling in the distance. We see divisions and contentions in the Church, dissensions in the state, schism, ever multiplying, hydra-headed schism, discontent, insurrection, clamour, the uprore, as it were, of approaching rebellion. Whither can we turn for help amid all these difficulties and dangers? Our rulers, our legislators seem utterly unable to devise any counsel. Whither can we look for strength, that we may fulfill our duties amid all this commotion? Look up, Brethren: there is still a bright light overhead. Look not down: there you will find no help. Look not round: there you will only see fear and alarm. But look up, to Him who sits above the waterfloods, to Him who remaineth a King for ever, to the Lord who will give strength to His people, to the Lord who will give His people the blessing of peace. And let me end by offering up that prayer to Him, which our Church is offering up this week, and which is so exactly suited to our wants.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by Thy governance, that Thy Church may joyfully serve Thee in all godly quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

NOTES.

NOTE A : p. 6.

It has been remarked by many, what a revolution has taken place in public opinion with regard to the Church, and particularly on the value of Episcopacy, since the epoch of the Reform-Bill, fifteen years ago. This may be deemed an instance of the common fact, that, when things have sunk to their lowest point, they begin to rise again ; a fact frequently exemplified in history, above all in that of the Church, in which, as it has a higher principle and source of life, the appearance of decay is not, so generally as in other history, the prelude of dissolution. For this fact there will doubtless be special grounds in each several case. In the present, it would not be difficult to find ample explanations for the low estimation into which the Church and its Government had fallen, on the one hand from the general tendencies of the European mind, which, for more than a century, in large classes of its representatives, had been growing more and more alienated from religion, at least as a positive social institution, and on the other hand from the prevalent torpour of the Church herself, subject, as she could not but be more or less, to the influences which modified the character of the age. For effects often outlast their causes, and in some cases do not attain to their full outward exhibition, until long after the inward crisis by which those causes have been counteracted. They lag in the rear, as the thunder after the lightning ; and sometimes, when the shell is bursting and perishing, it is only to manifest the new life that has been growing up within. Moreover the new life which had been stirring in the Church, was almost exclusively personal, and dealt

with men as individuals, rather than as members of a society. Thus however, by a peculiarly favorable disposition, it came to pass that, at the very time when the outward danger assailing our Church seemed to many the most formidable,—when many anticipated, some with fear, others with exultation, that her downfall was approaching,—there was a strong living energy within her, whereby, under God's blessing, she was preserved to come forth in greater power and beauty.

Now it was at the very highth of the agitation occasioned by the Reform-Bill, and when the cry against the Church and against her Bishops was at the loudest, that the need of a great augmentation of our Episcopate was declared, from a quarter from which few persons then, and even now not many, would have expected it. Arnold, who had a deeper feeling than any man perhaps of his own standing for the evils in the social condition of England, and who, directly and indirectly, has done more than almost any other single man, though but a small part of what he desired and meditated, for remedying them,—as he well knew what is the one remedial institution in the midst of an evil world, and saw and deplored the perversions by which that institution has been rendered so inefficacious,—had set it before him, as the first object of his heart, and the chief aim of his life, to do what in him lay for bringing out the real power of the Church. One of the measures which he held to be necessary for this purpose, was a large increase of the Episcopate, in order to increase the practical efficiency of our Ecclesiastical government. He was too wise a man indeed, and of too large and free a spirit, to regard Episcopacy as an essential element of the Christian Church, much less as an indispensable condition of Christian grace; yet, valuing it highly as a disciplinary institution, as well as on the ground of its historical authority, he was perhaps on this very account the more anxious to perfect its working as such. For the rudest piece of carving will serve as an idol; but, when the statue is to express the divine idea, it will be wrought with the utmost skill of art.

In one of the admirable letters which Arnold sent to the *Sheffield Courant* in 1831 and 1832, after expressing his conviction

of the benefits of a Church-establishment, he proposed, among other reforms, some of which have subsequently been adopted, "that the Dioceses be divided, so as to give the Church an efficient government. For this purpose all Deaneries should be made Bishoprics, retaining their present incomes, and of course with no seats in Parliament. The Prebends should be annexed to underpaid livings in large towns; and the largest Church in all such towns should be erected into a Bishop's see; so that there should be no great town throughout England without its resident Bishop, who, without being raised to any undue elevation in rank and fortune, would yet in both be sufficiently respectable to maintain the just influence of the Church with the higher classes as well as with the poor." *Misc. Works*, p. 220.

The same scheme is stated somewhat more fully in his invaluable pamphlet on *the Principles of Church Reform*, which had the misfortune to excite much odium at the time, in great measure from being too much ahead of the opinions then current on such subjects; but many of the views in which have since been adopted by most persons taking a lively interest in the welfare of the Church, and which, if too Utopian in its comprehensiveness, at all events shews how deeply Arnold felt that the healing powers of the Church are marred by the divisions among her members, and that these divisions can only be cured by our all forbearing one another in love, and by each party's seeking not its own things, but the things of the others. "In order to an efficient and comprehensive Church system (he there says, *Misc. Works*, p. 292,) the first thing necessary is to divide the actual dioceses. A government must be feeble when one Bishop, as is the case in the diocese of Chester, has the nominal superintendence over a tract of country extending in length above a hundred miles and over a population of nearly two millions of souls. Every large town should necessarily be the seat of a Bishop, the Bishopric thus created giving no seat in Parliament; and the addition of such an element to the society of a commercial or manufacturing place would be in itself a great advantage;—for, as in small cathedral towns the society is at present much too

exclusively clerical, so, in towns like Manchester and Birmingham, the influence of the clergy is too little; they are not in a condition to colour sufficiently the mass of a population whose employment is to make money. The present Dioceses might then become Provinces; or, if it should be thought desirable to diminish the number of Bishops in the House of Lords, the number retained might correspond to the number of Provinces which it might be found convenient to constitute; so that Metropolitan Bishops alone should have seats in Parliament. And for the new Bishoprics to be created, the Deaneries throughout England would go a long way towards endowing them;—while in many cases nothing more would be required than to change the name and office of the incumbent of the principal parish in the town; so that instead of being the minister of one church, he should become the Bishop of the Diocese, the income of this office remaining the same as at present."

Among the details of this plan, which manifestly was a mere summary outline of such measures as the author deemed requisite for a more efficient organization of the government of the Church, several points would doubtless present a good deal of practical difficulty: but the purport of it coincides with what is now beginning to be generally recognised as desirable. Assuredly, if the truths of Christianity are to be brought home to each individual member of the huge masses congregated in our large towns, the ministers employed by the Church for that purpose ought to act in consort, with the increase of force ever imparted by union and concentration; and nothing would promote this more than their acting under the counsel and guidance of a single head or leader, that is, under a Bishop. At present there is often little unity of action among the Clergy in our towns: each follows his own plans in his own parish: they want a common centre of union, which is seldom found except in a person. In some of our chief towns, it has been seen how much the power of the Church is increased by the influence of a man of energetic character: but it is unwise to leave this to the chances of personal vigour and activity; which moreover, if they stretch beyond their appointed

sphere, may easily excite jealousy, and be hampered with obstructions. A sounder policy would enjoin that in every large town there should be a leader invested with lawful authority to direct the movements of the Church, in other words, a Bishop: and as the number of ministers employed in the various duties pertaining to the great work of evangelizing the nation ought not to fall below the proportion of at least one to a thousand, towns with a population of a hundred, or even fifty thousand souls would furnish a sufficient body of clergy for a Bishop to superintend. In this respect however, as in some others, the views enounced in Arnold's pamphlet were in advance of those commonly entertained at the time; and owing to this, and to an imperfect apprehension of certain features in the plan, which indicated over-sanguine anticipations of the power of unity, the pamphlet was generally condemned, and was assailed in a manner which mostly proved little else than the ignorance and narrow bigotry of the assailer. On the other hand, the common opinions of those days were adverse to Bishops: even they who desired to retain Episcopacy, seemed to think that it must be almost a sinecure, unless charged with the care of a whole province by way of a Diocese. Hence one of the first ecclesiastical measures adopted by the Reformed Parliament was the diminution of the number of the Irish Sees; and when the enormous increase of the population in some of our English Dioceses led those who regard numbers as the one region of infallible truth, to the conclusion that those Dioceses were too large for any single Bishop, even the persons who bear authority in our Church do not seem to have admitted the notion that it was possible to augment the number of our Episcopate, or to divide those overgrown Dioceses, unless the establishment of each new see was preceded by the extinction of an old one.

When this plan of diminishing the enormous burthen of our largest Dioceses was announced as one of the chief measures for the consideration of which the Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed in 1835, it was suggested in some quarters that an easier and more efficacious remedy might be obtained by the esta-

blishment of Suffragan Bishoprics, in conformity to the powers conferred by the Act of the 26th of Henry the Eighth. This scheme was especially advocated by Mr Newman, in a pamphlet which for its sound practical wisdom is perhaps the most valuable of his writings, the greater power and depth of some of the subsequent ones being far more than counterbalanced by their sophistical perversities. He speaks strongly and truly on the desirableness of a frequent personal intercourse between the Bishop and the people in his Diocese. "If a Bishop is intended to bear with him a moral influence, to have the custody of the Christian Faith in his own place and day, and by his life and conversation to impress it in all its saving fulness of doctrine and precept upon the face of society, if he is to be the centre and emblem of Christian unity, the bond of many minds, and the memento of Him that is unseen, he must live among his people. He is the one Pastor of the whole fold; and, though by name an overseer or superintendent, yet his office lies quite as much in being seen in his Diocese, as in seeing. Human nature is so constituted as to require such resting-places for the eyes and hearts of the many. Some minds there may be of peculiar make, whether of unusual firmness or insensibility, who can dispense with authorities to steady their opinions, and with objects for the exercise of their affections; but such is not the condition of the mass of mankind. They cry out clamorously for guides and leaders, and will choose for themselves if not supplied with them. Here then Christianity has met our want in the Episcopal system; and in extending the influence of that system we are co-operating with it. Few persons can have witnessed the coming of one of our Bishops to consecrate some country church, or to confirm in some remote district, without being struck with the persuasive power of his presence in eliciting from the rural population a kindly and respectful feeling towards the Church over which he presides. The hour and circumstances of his coming are only one part of the benefit resulting from it. Days and days before it is looked forward to as a great event. From the clergyman down to the little child just come to school, all is expectation. Catechist and

catechumens are all coming before him who is the representative and delegate of the Chief Pastor, who one day will visit once for all. Lessons are learned, admonitions given, with reference to a direct and immediate religious object. No one has witnessed the decency, the tranquillity, and the sanctity of those limited Confirmations, which our Bishops, at an expense of personal convenience, are so ready to hold, but must understand the benefit which would accrue, if such an arrangement could be the custom of the Church, the benefit of imparting to a very solemn rite those associations of home-scenery and home-faces, which will endear to them in after life the memory of the administrators; and no one but will confess that, unless some very grave difficulties interfere, such meetings between Pastor and flock are the true means of strengthening the Establishment with the people at large. Viewing the matter even in a political light, I should say to the parties competent to do it,—Increase the number of our Bishops. Give the people objects on which their holier and more generous feelings may rest. After all, in spite of the utilitarianism of the age, we have hearts. We like to meet with those whom we may admire and make much of. We like to be thrown out of ourselves. The low-minded maintenance of rights and privileges, the selfishness which entrenches itself in its own castle or counting-house, the coldness of stoicism, and the sourness of puritanism, are neither the characteristics of Englishmen nor of human nature. Human nature is not republican. We know what an immediate popularity is given to the cause of monarchy, when the sovereign shews himself to his people, and demands their loyalty. And in like manner those who watch narrowly may see all the purer and nobler feelings of our nature brought out in bystanders, in a less enthusiastic, only because in a more reverential way, by the sight of the heads of the Church, when in proportion to their knowledge and religious principle that flame of devoted and triumphant affection is kindled among them, which has even led to the highest and more glorious deeds, which, as it is loyalty in the subject, so is it gallant bearing in the soldier, and piety in the child."

When Mr Newman wrote his pamphlet in 1835, the Church had just weathered the storms which seemed to threaten her at the time of the Reform-Bill. Since then she has been rising every year in the estimation of the English nation; and more and more minds have grown to take a deep interest in her welfare. Hence the need of a large increase in her Episcopate has been more and more widely recognised. Thus Mr Palmer, in 1841, in his Pamphlet on Church Extension, drew up a plan for the erection of more than seventy new Sees. Mr Gresley, in the same year, proposed that the matter should be dispatched by a sweeping Brevet, whereby every officer in the Church was to gain a step, all the Deans and Archdeacons were to be made Bishops, the present Bishops Archbishops, the Archbishops Patriarchs. To supply the archidiaconal void in the ladder, the Rural Deans were to become Archdeacons; whereupon a selection of the inferior Clergy were to be installed in the Ruridecanal chairs; although, as the Archdeacons would only have an average of ten parishes to superintend, one cannot see much need of an intermediate step between them and the parochial Clergy. A scheme thus crude would hardly seem to be worth the ink expended in committing it to paper; but it may serve as a sign of the growing desire for an enlargement of our Episcopate.

A more powerful advocate for this enlargement, the Bishop of Exeter, spoke on the subject in his Charge for 1842 with the authority derived from a practical experience of the evil consequences of the present system. "Among the particulars in which I think we require an improvement in the outward form of our Church, I would place in the foremost rank the expediency, I would almost say the *necessity*, of an increased number of Bishops. In urging this I hope I shall not be considered by you as wishing to consult my own ease. The reasons for which I should wish a more numerous episcopacy in our Church, are such as would make the charge of every individual Bishop not less laborious, but far more effectual, and therefore far more satisfactory both to himself and to the Church. In truth the overpowering extent of the dioceses, in which several of us at present have to

discharge our functions, cannot but affect those functions themselves. Between six and seven hundred parishes dispersed over a district one hundred and forty miles in length and in some parts half of that extent in breadth, as in my own case, cannot be even known as they ought to be known, to him who has an equal duty of close connexion with every one of them. The consequence is, and can hardly fail to be, that your Bishop is unable to consult and be consulted by you, on the many occasions on which we should wish to consult together. If, as often happens, a matter arises in one parish, which indispensably demands much consideration, mutual explanation, protracted correspondence, this cannot be performed without rendering it physically impossible for adequate attention to be given to the reasonable claims of many other cases. It would especially tend, with God's blessing, to make every Bishop to be, as he ought to be, not merely in name, but in reality, *the centre of unity* to the diocese over which he is placed,—one whose communication with other portions of our Church should enable him to be the channel of much of interesting and useful intelligence between different dioceses,—one who might thus be permitted to promote an accordance of views among the ministers of the same national Church,—to soften real, and remove apparent differences of opinion, to conciliate conflicting parties, and induce them to see, as they commonly might see, how much more they differ in names and words, than in principles. But that he should be and do this it is necessary that there should be that closeness as well as frequency of intercourse between him and his clergy, which cannot subsist in dioceses like those of England. Need I say how different was the case in the primitive Church, in which the strong expressions of Ignatius and the other earliest Fathers, of the necessity of 'doing nothing without the Bishop,' may be considered as indicating (besides the commission which it is the office of a bishop to give) his intimate connexion with every portion of his diocese, rather than a recognition of any exorbitant or arbitrary extent of episcopal controul." (pp. 80—83.)

NOTE B : p. 7.

Gregory's letter to Augustin, containing this scheme, (*Epist.* xi. 65,) is given by Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 29. "Quia nova Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam, eodem Domino largiente et te laborante, perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum solemnita agenda concedimus; ita ut per loca singula duodecim episcopos ordines, qui tuas subiaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundoniensis civitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari.—Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinare, ita dumtaxat ut, si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei recipierit, ipse quoque duodecim episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur." Augustin indeed was unable to execute more than a small portion of this grand scheme; nor did our Episcopate reach Gregory's complement until the reign of Henry the Eighth. See the account of its gradual increase in *the English Review*, Vol. i. p. 56.

The remaining Notes to this Charge were left by the Author in too incomplete a state for publication.

The Petition referred to in page 9, was as follows :—

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,
the Humble Petition of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes, sheweth,

That your Petitioners look with deep regret on that Provision of an Act passed in the 6th and 7th years of the reign of his late Majesty, intituled, "An Act for carrying into effect the Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the State of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues, so far as they relate to

Episcopal Dioceses, Revenues, and Patronage," whereby it is enacted that the present Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor shall hereafter be united into one ; in other words, that one of them shall be abolished, and swallowed up in the other.

That they cannot but regard the abolition of any ancient Institution as a dangerous measure, the more so in proportion to the power and influence which that Institution has been wont to exercise ; unless it can be clearly shewn, either that the Institution is itself mischievous, or that some greatly preponderating good will be effected by its removal.

That they cannot discover any ground for believing that the two Episcopal Sees, which have existed for so many centuries in North Wales, and which are associated with so many sacred recollections, are, or ever have been, more than adequate to the urgent wants of the Church.

That, although the increase of the population in North Wales has not been so great as in some parts of England, yet in North Wales also the population has increased, is increasing, and appears likely to increase ; and that the very nature of the country renders it a far more laborious task for a Bishop to acquire that acquaintance which he ought to have with every part of his Diocese.

That the duty committed to the Bishops in North Wales of appointing the chief part of the Incumbents in their Dioceses makes it especially obligatory upon them to become familiar with the character and qualifications of the Curates under their charge ; and that, from divers peculiar circumstances in the condition of the Church in North Wales, it is of the utmost importance that the ecclesiastical rulers should be able to attend to the minutest questions of parochial administration, and to aid all the Clergy with their counsel and encouragement and support amid the difficulties of their situation, surrounded as they are by varied and wide-spread schism.

That for these reasons, if any change is to be made in the Episcopal Body in North Wales, a wise policy would much rather dictate its enlargement than its diminution.

That, while your Petitioners earnestly desire that the two Sees of Bangor and St. Asaph may be preserved in their ancient honour and authority, to be lights and guides of the Church unto the end of the world, they are no less earnest in disclaiming the slightest wish of throwing any obstacle in the way of the proposed erection of a new See at Manchester ; but that they can perceive no necessary connexion between the erection of the one See and the extinction of the other.

That, on the contrary, they are persuaded that it is most desirable for the spiritual well-being of the Church, and for the moral and political welfare of the English Nation as intimately bound up therewith, that the means of Episcopal Superintendence should be greatly augmented, in some sort of proportion to the enormous increase of population during the last three centuries ; so that every member of the Church might be enabled to feel the blessings of that superintendence, manifested in the exercise of a vigilant discipline, and in the fostering and direction of every good work.

That, under this conviction, they would hail the establishment of a new See at Manchester with joy and thankfulness, not merely on its own account, but also as a pledge that other like measures will in time be adopted to give greater power and efficacy to the Apostolical Government of our Church.

That, looking forward with hope to the day when the Divine Head and Lord of the Church shall move men's hearts to accomplish the great object, they strongly deprecate a measure lying in an opposite direction, which, as such, they feel assured, would ere long be generally deplored ; and they therefore humbly pray your Lordships to repeal so much of the said Act as relates to the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

ROMANIZING FALLACIES :

A CHARGE

TO THE CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT

THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1845.

ROMANIZING FALLACIES.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

IT is now two years since I last address you from this chair; and two years in these times have become a momentous period in the life of the Church. At least we all know that they are so in our own Church; in which events have of late been pressing so rapidly one on the heels of the other, that more of interest and importance is now crowded into a single twelvemonth, than in seasons of repose and comparative inertness has been spread through a quarter of a century. Indeed, when we think of all that has happened to our Church, and in our Church, during the last fifteen years, of the shifting aspects and prospects which it has presented, of the changes in its relation to the State, and in its own estimation of itself, as also in its anticipations of the future, —when we think of the increast and, we trust, increasing activity and zeal which are now prevailing among all classes of its members, of the new institutions for the better effecting of its great moral and spiritual objects which have been establisht in almost every diocese, of the anxiety for the fuller carrying out of its forms and ordinances, and even for the revival of such as had long lain dormant and become obsolete,—when we think of the alterations in public opinion, at least with regard to the import and significance of our

Church, manifesting itself in all the organs in which public opinion is wont to find utterance,—how, while a number of new journals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, have sprung up, especially designed for ecclesiastical and theological discussions, the affairs of the Church have become a leading topic in the principal old journals, and are almost a standing dish with the purveyors of the daily press,—how the same theme is an ever-recurring subject of conversation among all educated persons,—how religious books, and books on ecclesiastical matters, are the staple article even in what is termed fashionable literature, and are found more frequently than the popular novels or poems of the day on the drawing-room table ;—when again we think of the new body of theological doctrines, which has grown up, continually assuming a compacter form, and exercising a more diffusive influence on the moral and political notions of the age, and which has stretcht out its arms so widely,—of the opposition these doctrines have had to encounter,—of the controversies which have been waged with reference to them,—of the agitation they have excited and are exciting in the whole English nation, nay, wherever the English name and language have gained a footing, in our colonies, in our Indian empire, and among our kindred in America ;—when we think of these manifold symptoms and indications of that which is going on in our Church, symptoms which, external and superficial as many of them may be, do yet betoken an inward stirring and heaving,—and when we compare them with the quiet, unruffled, almost sluggish and stagnant calm which lay on the face of our Church during the main part of the last century, —we might be led to fancy that men's minds have been infected with a sympathetic contagion by the wonderful rapidity which has during the same period been imparted to

the movements of their bodies, and that the Church must be advancing with a kind of railway speed toward the goal which it is ordained to reach. By those who prize energy and activity above all things, without much consideration of the spirit which may animate and direct them, and who deem a beehive on a fine day in summer the emblem of the highest condition of society, all this may be contemplated with complacency and some sort of exultation: and this tone of thought, which is very common among such as can conceive no aim for mankind beyond worldly wealth and prosperity, is also found when persons of sanguine and bustling, restless tempers busy themselves in times like the present about the affairs of the Church. On the other hand the lovers of peace and sobermindedness, who desire the establishment of simple truth, while they have narrow notions of what truth is, and understand not how its roots and its branches are to strike out into every quarter of the compass, with many a twist and coil, nor against what fierce winds it has to battle, and by what strange convolutions and contortions it has often to maintain its stand against them, and to grow up in despite of them, may be apt to despond at such a scene of confusion, and to deem that the sudden increase in the movement of the Church is little else than that acceleration which all bodies acquire in their fall.

A little reflexion however, even on the course of our own individual lives, may convince us that Time, in its reference to man, has not a positive, uniform, determinate, but a relative, variable value, and that the regular motions of the heavenly bodies belong to a different order of things from that which we find in this world of change and wilfulness. In the lives of each of us there have been certain portions, years, months, weeks, far richer and more eventful than

others : nay, it may happen, that more of meaning, more of thought and more of feeling, and more of their outward expression in action, will be condensed and concentrated into a single day, than at other times can be extracted from a whole year. The length, the fulness, the richness of our days during childhood are a matter of common remark : for then thought and feeling of one kind or other were continually pouring into us at every inlet ; and each day was hung with the records of ever so many marvellous events. In our later life, too, momentous, stirring, teeming periods will occasionally arise ; and no less in our spiritual life than in any other part of it. So again is it in the history of nations. They whose memory carries them back to the early years of this century, and the closing years of the last, will call to mind how Time's great clock was then perpetually striking, and how the sound was often that of midnight, how, in the words of the poet, men exclaimed again and again, *Another year ! another deadly blow ! Another mighty empire overthrown !* Whereas during the last thirty years, although the afterthroes of that great convulsion have every now and then been heaving, even so as to cast a throne to the ground, the calm of peace has on the whole prevailed in Europe, and nations have preserved their independence. Nor is the Church exempt from similar vicissitudes and alternations of activity and comparative repose. In her life also the story of her infancy is far the most eventful : for everything that happened then was big with meaning ; every hour opened a wider insight into her purpose and character and destinies. And as, from the nature of this our earth, a long continued calm will end in languour and torpour, after which storms are sent to freshen and purify the atmosphere, so, when languour and torpour have crept over the Church, her Lord has sent

stormy periods, when flash has followed thick upon flash, and clap upon clap, and when fateful events have been thronged closely together. Such a period, for instance, was that most memorable one in the history of the Church since its first establishment, the period of the Reformation, extending in Germany from the publication of Luther's theses down to his death, in England from the latter years of Henry the Eighth to the early years of Elizabeth. Occurrences and acts, which at other times would have passed unnoticed, acquired an inordinate significance then: the flame having been kindled, everything served to feed and extend it. In the previous history of the Church, after the first century, the life of the great Athanasius forms the most eventful period. Since the Reformation, no other period has in England been comparable in importance and the fulness of its interesting events with the twenty years in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Here let me make a remark, which may be of use in correcting and steadying our judgment, when we are tempted to despond at the contemplation of the manifold evils by which such periods, as well as all others in which sinful man has to act, are wont to be accompanied. These critical periods, as they may be termed—I do not mean in the sense in which that expression was used by certain recent French theorists about the history of the world, but in the sense in which we speak of the critical moment in a disease,—these momentous periods in which some crisis is brought to pass in the history of the Church, have always been marked by a contentious spirit, as indeed is inevitable, inasmuch as what constitutes the crisis is the insurrection and struggle of a new spirit against that which had previously been dominant; and the contest in its progress has always been disgraced by the

violence of the parties, by bitterness and injustice, by the grossest unfairness in judging opponents, and by all manner of prejudices and misrepresentations, distortions of facts and arbitrary imputations of motives, in a word, by those very features which make the hearts of the peaceful in our own times droop and sink, and on account of which the fierceness of theological controversies, the *odium theologicum*, has become a melancholy by-word. In the way of apology for these excesses it is sometimes pleaded, that a man, who is in earnest in matters concerning the very springs of spiritual life and death, cannot be altogether calm and measured, and that his intemperance is a proof of his sincerity. This however is not so necessarily: we may feel assured that the admixture of evil is never requisite for the vigour of good; that a man may be sincere, and yet candid; in earnest, and yet just. Our violence, our bitterness, our want of candour do not arise from our intense love of truth, but from our love of falsehood, through the seasoning of which alone, as Bacon has observed, does truth become palatable to the carnal mind. We connect the recognition of the truth contended for with our own dignity and importance, and resent the unwillingness to admit it as a personal affront; and exaggerating the significance of the truths which have been presented the most forcibly to our own minds, we demand the same homage for every corollary which by any logical process, however mistaken, we may draw from them, and thus often set them at loggerheads with other truths, no less momentous it may be in themselves, but which have never been brought home to us with the same impressive power. Moreover, as these excesses proceed in no degree from that which is good and sound, but solely from that which is frail and evil in man, so do they weaken the truths which we

assert by such means, and hinder them from producing their rightful effect, both by irritating and inflaming opposition, and by supplying that opposition with matter which it will feel itself justified in rejecting, and which it will reject without being at the pains of distinguishing and severing the truths intertwined therewith, so that these also have to share the same condemnation. Therefore, when I said that we may derive some help to our judgement from recollecting that the various bad passions, the injustice, the recklessness, the outrages against truth and decorum, by which the controversies of our days are disfigured, are merely a repetition of what has always been found on like occasions, I did not mean that these evils are to be justified or palliated. On the contrary we should endeavour to repress them by all the means in our power, by doing what we can to discountenance them, by showing their futility and mischief, by reproving them openly and gravely whenever an occasion arises, and by the strongest of all arguments, the example of a practice carefully eschewing all such things. Still, when we are troubled and cast down by the grievous evils of our present condition, and when, through that propensity to magnify whatever, whether of good or evil, is present and at hand, which, proceeding from the limitedness of our faculties, is a main disturber of the equanimity of our judgement, we are led to fancy that the calamitous symptoms visible in our times portend some tremendous disaster about to befall the Church, it is well that we should call to mind how, in every critical period in the history of the Church, our Saviour's awful declaration, that He came not to send peace upon earth, but a sword, has received a fresh accomplishment. In the first age of the Church indeed it was only fulfilled by the sword which was brandisht by the enemies of the Gospel,

and which the preachers of the Gospel had to endure, through which they gave up their spirits into the hands of their Lord. But ever since, in the divisions by which the Church has been rent, both parties have mostly shown an inordinate fondness for the use of the sword, more especially of those swords, which, the Psalmist tells us, his enemies bore in their lips. And that I may not be suspected of intending to apologize in any sort for a spirit and tone which I desire wholly to reprobate, and would gladly extinguish, I will observe that, although when men are striving and battling in God's cause against hosts of enemies, carrying their lives in their hands, ready to lay them down before His altar, and half expecting every moment to be dragged thither in order that they may do so, having a formidable power to contend against, a power which they see trampling upon truth, and driving its chariot-wheels over the consciences of men, one is glad to show indulgence to such combatants, and dares not require that their words should always be exactly weighed; yet in our days, when there is nothing to fear, no risk to be encountered, when no physical force is to be encountered on either side, and the fires of Smithfield can hardly alarm the most ignorant bigotry; when controversialists sit at ease in their comfortable parlours, and read their newspapers and magazines, and tracts for the times, and tracts against the times, without even a deathwatch to startle their fears, if they fume and rave, and stir up a storm in the tepid atmosphere which surrounds their arm-chair, they are utterly without excuse.

I began by saying that the time in which we are now living, the years we have recently past through, and, so far as any human foresight can anticipate, the years which are coming on, form an important and eventful period in the

history of the Church. Our immediate concern is with our own Church ; and I have already referred to a variety of notorious circumstances, which prove that it is in a more restless, perturbed state now than it had been for a long time past, perhaps since the events which attended its reestablishment at the Reformation. But if we look out beyond our own borders, we see that the present movement in the English mind is not an insulated one, and that in this, as in other things, a certain sympathy prevails among the leading members of the great European family, among those members of it at least who have borne a prominent part in the intellectual activity of the last two centuries, whatever may be the case with those who have tarried behind in the inheritance their ancestors had obtained for them. Thus it has come to pass that, while the interest taken in questions connected with religion has been increasing so rapidly in England during the last thirty years as to give them the first place in the thoughts of every person of reflexion, a like change in the same direction has been going on contemporaneously in France and in Germany ; and this religious spirit which has been awakened in those countries, as in our own, to resist the assaults of a rationalizing, or rather derationalizing infidelity, differs from the religious spirit which took possession of certain classes in the last century, in not fixing its attention exclusively on the spiritual wants of the individual man, and on the means by which those wants are to be relieved, but has taken a strong ecclesiastical bent, and is everywhere agitating questions relating to the nature, forms, constitution, authority, and ordinances of the Church. I will merely point your attention to the disputes which have led to the establishment of the so-called Free Church in Scotland, to those about the rightful controll over the education of the

people and about the Jesuits, in France,—to the violent dissensions which the revival of the same body has occasioned in Switzerland,—to the schism which is spreading so rapidly in the Romish Church in Germany; and to the synodical meetings of the Evangelical Church in Prussia, meetings held for the first time since the Reformation, and which, we may hope, will with God's blessing prepare the way for a better and more efficient organization of that Church than the Protestant Church in Germany has ever yet attained. I am not taking upon myself to express any opinion on the particular character of these events: it would be impossible to estimate them rightly without a thorough knowledge of the antecedent and present character and condition of the Churches which have given birth to them; and one lesson we ought to learn from the difficulty of meeting with an intelligent judgement on the present state of our own Church is to refrain from the sinful habit of passing judgement hastily and ignorantly on other Churches. I have merely referred to a few notorious facts as testifying that there is a general movement in the European mind in our days, which, with sundry differences in other respects, has this one common character, that it is not merely a religious movement, the arousal of a deeper interest in religion as a personal matter, or in religious doctrines and dogmas, but that its thoughts and aims are in great part directed toward the social character of Christianity, toward Christianity as the source and ground of all well-ordered social union, toward the manner in which Christ's kingdom upon earth was designed by its Founder to be realized, toward its institutions and ordinances, and the various means whereby it is to act on mankind, not merely individually, but also collectively, in order to the fulfilment of Christ's purpose that all the

nations of the earth should be gathered and incorporated into His Body, and that His Church might become a glorious Church, *not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.*

Our immediate concern however is with our own Church : nor should I deem myself justified on an occasion like the present, set apart for the consideration of our own personal duties in our ministerial office, were I to enter into any remoter discussions, however interesting or important in themselves, except so far as they can be shewn to bear upon those duties in the present position of our Church. But in order to understand the real origin and character of the movement which is now going on, and which has been going on for the last ten or twelve years, it must needs be of use to view it in connexion and comparison with other movements, if any at all analogous to it can be found, going on contemporaneously in other branches of the Church universal. This ampler survey will be one of the best preservatives against the vulgar narrow-sightedness, which, looking no further than at what strikes the eye on the surface of events, regarded singly, just as they happen to present themselves, is wont to ascribe them mainly to the accidental character and influence of one or two individual agents. Thus I believe it is generally supposed that the peculiar spirit and tendencies, which have been spreading so widely in our Church during the last ten years, are mainly traceable to the influence of two or three distinguished members of the University of Oxford ; nor is it by any means duly recognized how a change essentially similar would have taken place, even if those who have become its leaders had never been born. What is this but the vulgar notion, whenever an epidemic prevails, that it must have been communicated by contact. It is true that,

when, in the order of God's providence, any momentous change is to be brought to pass in the destinies and aims of mankind, above all as comprehended in those of the Church, men fitted to direct the change, and to overpower the obstacles which the *vis inertiae* in human nature presents to it, come into the world at the appointed time, and, even though they may be born in a peasant's hut, are raised to the post where they may fitliest accomplish the task markt out for them. But even if Athanasius and Luther, who of all men since St. Paul have perhaps exercised the greatest and most beneficent power over the destinies of mankind, and whose personal characters contributed in a more than ordinary degree to modify the events they were commissioned to guide, had never lived, we may not question that what they did would have been done by others, with no considerable difference in the general result, and that the course of the Church would have been in the main precisely the same. Nor can anything well indicate a shallower ignorance of the principles and laws by which the wheels of history are impelled, than the notion of those Romish Church historians who assert that the Reformation was owing to Luther, and that unless his passions had been inflamed against the Papacy, the unity of Christendom would not have been dissolved. As reasonably might one maintain that the ship which rides before the wind and the tide is the cause of the wind and the tide; although there certainly would be some meaning in saying of Luther, as the poet says of his lordly ship, *Where he comes, the winds must stir*. Nor is this view of history merely shallow and ignorant, but, like all shallowness and ignorance with regard to important matters, also very mischievous. The notion that an epidemic arises from contagion, at once prevents our taking the right measures against

the disease, and our ministering rightly to those who are suffering under it : instead of endeavouring to heal them, we flee from them, and cast them out as lepers. When we look upon a social change as the product of some individual mind, we hold ourselves warranted in resisting it as such absolutely and unconditionally, without taking the trouble to discriminate between that in it which may be a necessary stage in the gradual development of mankind, and those extravagances and absurdities with which individuals may have alloyed it : and such opposition, while it is necessarily vain and futile in arresting that which is ordained to be, is nevertheless effective in diminishing and marring the good which ought to have flowed from it, and is far likelier to exasperate than to lessen its evil results.

A slight retrospect on the events of the last ten years will convince any intelligent person that these remarks are no less pertinent to the controversies of our own, than to those of any former age. The adversaries of the new opinions have not set themselves calmly and deliberately to examine their origin and grounds, the circumstances, previous and contemporaneous, which have tended to breed and foster them, the laws, whether of sympathy or of antagonism, by which their shape and growth have been determined, the wants which called them forth, and for which they were designed to supply a remedy. It is so much easier to reprove and revile at haphazard and by wholesale, than to go through a laborious investigation with the purpose of forming a sound, impartial judgement. It is so difficult and so humbling to subject all our cherished prejudices and prepossessions to a thorough sifting, to admit the possibility of their being mistaken, and that those who differ from us may have much reason on their side. Hence the religious world, as it is called, has

resounded with vociferous cries, which the irreligious world has been only too glad to take up and echo back, that the new opinions are utterly erroneous, superstitious, popish, and that they who hold them are totally unfit to continue in the ministry of our Church, nay, that, if they were honest men, they ought to go over to Rome. Such an irritating mode of dealing with our adversaries, it is plain, is exactly calculated to produce the very effect which it provokes; and when this is the case, when they who have been pelted and almost drummed out of the camp, turn their backs on it, their assailants count themselves justified by the issue. *This is just what we foretold!* they cry: *see how right we were!* That several members and even a few ministers of our Church have of late cast off their allegiance to her, and transferred their homage to Rome, is well known: nor is there anything improbable in the rumour that other like secessions are about to occur before long. But who can make out, among the motives which may determine a person to take such a step, what portion lay in his own positive tenets, and what portion in the rebukes and buffetings and scornful provocations which he may have received from others? At all events it is certain that the desertions from our Church would have been less numerous, if the men of unquestioned piety and holiness, who have been the chief promulgators of the new opinions, had been treated throughout as brethren, with a cordial recognition of those portions of truths which they had been allowed to discern and proclaim, and a ready rejection of those errors and faults in the prevalent tone of doctrine and practice of our Church, which they had been enabled to point out. A like course of wisdom and mildness in the last century would have retained many of those who left us, within our pale. Yet now, when, by one of the

ordinary oscillations in history, the opinions which were then opprest, have risen to a sort of ascendant, the very party that has inherited those opinions, and that is quick to discern and reprove the perversity and the mischief of the treatment experienced by good and holy men in those days, is the loudest in adopting the same tone in ours. Thus, whichever bucket mounts out of the well, the same folly is floating atop of it: whatever may be the fashion of the opinions in vogue, they denounce all that differ from them as heretical. Whereas Christian wisdom, nay, common fairness would have set itself in earnest to ascertain the origin and the tendency of the new doctrines; to which end it is very expedient that they should be viewed in connexion with the previous and contemporaneous state of thought and feeling in England, illustrated, so far as may be, by any parallels discoverable in other branches of the Church.

Now, when we do endeavour thus to view them, and are thereby led to observe how, as was stated above, in several of the chief nations of Europe a variety of movements, separate and distinct in their origin, have been going on during the last few years, all pointing in the same direction, so far at least as that they all bear a reference, more or less immediate, to the nature, the office, the essential character and authority of the Church,—and when we bethink ourselves of the numerous theoretical schemes for the regeneration of mankind, which had sprouted up from all manner of brains during the previous half century, and which past through every shade and degree from universal fraternization to universal anarchy and license, terminating in the millennium of the guillotine,—we may mount without much trouble to the conclusion, that, as the perception of the utter vanity of earthly things is ever one of the chief ways by which men

are brought 'o feel a want and desire of heavenly things, so the tremendous convulsions by which the ancient fabric of European society was overthrown, and the manifold calamities arising out of them, while on the one hand they taught many to long for something deeper and more living in the way of religion than an elegant moral essay to entertain the compulsory inactivity of the Sunday, also prepared many for discerning the feebleness and hollowness of the foundations on which society was then supposed to rest, and for yearning after a higher and better order of things; even as the perturbed state of Athens is said to have moved the Athenians to desire that Solon should legislate for the commonwealth. The eye that had gazed on this yawning gulf, could not but see that the network of contrivances for the constitution and regulation of mankind, which politicians and theorists had been spinning out, however ingenious and specious, was frail and powerless to bind in such fierce tumultuous elements, as powerless as the chains of the Persian king to fetter the waves of the Hellespont: and this insight awakened a wish, more or less unconscious in most cases, for some higher regulative and constitutive power, for something coming with a pledge of divine authority, and an assurance that, as emanating from God, it is a reality, akin to the deepest feelings in man's heart, and with an inherent principle of life and duration. Thus far all is right: nor could any judgement have been wiser than that which induced men to seek for the true principles of social polity and union, for the moral groundwork of society, in the idea and laws of the Church. But an inference which may seem to be easily deducible from hence, and which has been deduced by many, is altogether fallacious. A profounder study of history, and of the divinely ordained laws by which

the human race is trained through the successive stages of its moral and intellectual existence, has bred a conviction in which all competent judges are now agreed, that the representation of the character and workings of the Catholic Church during the middle ages which prevailed in the shallow literature of the last century, was in many respects grossly mistaken, and that her operation and influence were on the whole universally beneficial, promotive of civilization, preservative of freedom and of religion, and the only check to the lusts of a trampling, crushing tyranny. Thus we have two propositions, distinct indeed, but intimately connected, that the Church contains the true principles of social order and organization, and that this was exemplified during the middle ages by the operation of the Catholic Church. They who held the former truth on speculative grounds, were rejoiced to find it confirmed by historical evidence; and this connexion was quite legitimate: indeed that truth must needs have assumed a very questionable form, if the great body of the evidence to be drawn from history contravened it. But one may easily be tempted to draw a further inference, namely, that the Church of Rome contains within itself the only true principles of social and moral order, and that the sole means of regenerating Europe would be the re-establishment of the Papal supremacy, and of the whole system whereby that supremacy would subjugate and drill the hearts and wills of mankind. Now this inference is no way legitimate. It has been drawn definitely by several writers on political subjects, especially in France and Germany; and it exercises no slight power over many persons who have never stated it distinctly even to their own minds. But it proceeds upon an ignorance or a misconception of the grounds on which the above-mentioned more favourable judgement

on the working of the Church in the middle ages was founded ; and it involves two complete fallacies. It assumes that the Church of Rome at the present day in its relations to the nations of Christendom occupies the self-same place, which was occupied by the Catholic Church in the middle ages ; and, as abuses of language are often wont to bring down their own punishment, this fallacy has been greatly promoted by the inconsiderate practice of calling the Church of Rome *the Catholic Church*, and of distinguishing ourselves as Protestants from the whole body of Catholics, as though there were no catholicism except in communion with Rome, and as though we had cut ourselves off at the Reformation from the Catholic Church, and no further belonged to it, nor had any lot or portion in the inheritance bequeathed by the ten preceding centuries. Yet far the most valuable part of that inheritance was that which belonged to the whole Church of Christ as the transmitter and propagator of Christian truth ; and it was on account of this that the influence of the Church during the middle ages has been pronounced to have been beneficial, with little reference to the specific constitution and institutions which the Papacy superinduced upon the Church, except so far as that constitution and those institutions were specially adapted to the temporary condition of the nations of Europe, emerging out of barbarism and heathenism, and needing a severe tutelage during the centuries of fiery purgation whereby they were to attain to the maturity of moral consciousness and personal responsibility. The second fallacy is, that an institution, which may have been good and useful at one period in the progress of society, must also be good and useful at every other period ; as though the calix, which encloses and guards the bud, ought also to enclose the full-blown flower ; as

though the butterfly could not fulfil its destination, unless it trailed the slough of the caterpillar along with it; as though St. Paul had not taught us that, while it is expedient for children to be in bondage under the elements of the world, they who pass out of childhood are no longer to be under that bondage; nay, that it behoves a man to put away the things which beseeemed the child, inasmuch as they not only cease to be beneficial, but become positively hurtful. Yet, plain as this may appear, incontrovertible as it is, few delusions have been commoner than the notion, which, forgetful of times and seasons, forgetful of the mutability adherent to everything earthly, would stamp institutions valuable relatively, from their adaptation to the wants of some particular condition of humanity, with an absoluteness and permanency such as can only belong to spiritual truths. The vulgarest form of this delusion is that which demands of all ages and countries that they shall correspond in every tittle with our own, and condemns them whensoever they do not. But even learned and thoughtful men, when their hearts, after sickening over the evils of their own times, have been refreshed by the discovery of opposite excellencies in former times, have often longed to revive them under the very form of their previous manifestation. They who make such a discovery will naturally attach an inordinate importance to it; and their cry is soon swelled by those who think to prove their superiority to their age by their invectives against it. The more ignorant they are of the spirit, and even of the facts of history, the readier they are to embrace this phantom. Yet one might deem that nothing wiser than a monkey would deck out a fruit-tree in autumn with the cast-off blossoms of spring, or think to improve its wintry bareness by hanging it with a coating of dead leaves. The world, moving onward

in its predestined course, never repeats itself, never treads twice in the same spot : in truth no individual man can do so entirely, much less a nation, with so many elements of diversity fermenting within it : and when any one would make her do so, as many attempted under the Roman empire, whether by affecting archaisms in language, or by trying, like Julian, to restore an extinct religion, he dooms himself to the hopeless task of reanimating a corpse. Such too is the doom of those, who are endeavouring in these days to clothe our limbs in the paraphernalia of Rome, which was cast off at the Reformation ; above all is it the doom of that noisy crew, who would have us take up the coral and whistle of childhood. We have outgrown these things ; and none can make us resume them : He who commanded us to cast them off, has spoken the word, and cast off they shall remain.

Another idea, the misunderstanding of which has drawn men towards the Church of Rome, is that of the unity of the Church, and, as the political exponent thereof, the unity of Christendom. The earnest petition in our Lord's divine prayer for the unity of His disciples, and all that St. Paul teaches us in such sublime words concerning the unity of the body of Christ, must convince every Christian how precious that unity is in the sight of God, how precious therefore it ought to be in his own estimation. But during the last two centuries little had been thought or said about that unity : it would hardly seem that many aspirations and prayers were offered up for it. In the first ages after the Reformation it had been attempted to show how the division thereby established was not wholly incompatible with unity, or at least how the sin of breaking the unity of the Church did not lie with the Reformers ; and how, if the usurpations of the

Papacy were abandoned, and a mild and pacific spirit were to prevail, the essence of unity might be retained, notwithstanding the outward separation, which in that case would soon be closed up. But the contest continued from generation to generation, and was defiled by the most atrocious crimes—falsehood, perfidy, cruelty, torture, murder; using every instrument of death; at one moment pouncing upon individuals, at another making havoc among multitudes. The crimes committed in the name of that which called itself the Catholic Church, between the middle of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century, were hardly surpassed by the bloody revels of the French revolution. Thus division was perpetuated; men's hearts and minds were set against each other; gradually it grew to be supposed that the schism in the Church was necessary and irremediable. Politically, also, the idea of the unity of Christendom was lost; and for it was substituted that miserable fiction, which became the idol of statesmen, the balance of power; a notion built on the supposition, that there can be no uniting, unifying principle, and that, instead of cementing love, must be substituted an equiponderance of jealousy and rivalry. Then came the age of luxury—the age of universal selfishness—an age which, it may be thought, in this respect, did not differ very much from other ages, inasmuch as selfishness has from the beginning been the besetting sin and bane of all mankind; which however did differ wofully from other ages in this, that, while in earlier times moralists and divines had set themselves to war against selfishness, and to maintain the cause of man's higher nature against his lower, of conscience and duty against pleasure and interest, we were now taught that man cannot, by the constitution of his nature, obey any other voice than that of his personal interest; nay, that this

is the only ground on which he can be bound to obey God · and the noxious effects of these doctrines are apparent in all the writings of the last century ; when, even in the letters of parents to their children, it is assumed that we cannot be influenced by any other motive than our interest ; and the same thing is openly avowed, without a blush of shame, as a matter universally admitted, even by the noblest men of the age in speaking of themselves. Thus all thought of unity passed away ; for selfishness separates and isolates : even religion, when regarded as a selfish matter, as merely the means of securing one's own personal happiness in another world, no longer binds men together ; the very idea of a Church, of Christ's kingdom upon earth, was almost become extinct ; and it was hardly recognised, even in word, that unity belongs to the very essence of Christianity. Meanwhile, through the influence of selfishness, under the moral form of self-will, and the intellectual form of self-opinion, divisions multiplied almost in geometrical progression, each sect splitting into two or more sects ; and we seemed approaching to the grand climax when every man would have had his own religion, and formed his own church. At such a time, when a higher idea of the Church revived, and when the preciousness of unity began to be felt again, it is not surprising that by an easy fallacy many should have fancied that unity cannot well exist without that which in a certain age of the Church was ordained to be the outward form of it, and that, as through the political state of the world in the early ages of Christianity, it had come to pass that the city, which was in a manner the capital and centre of the world, became also the capital and centre of the Church, so it is still requisite that there should be an outward centre of unity, a visible head of the Church living still upon earth. We

have been told by a person of much candour, who a few years since abandoned our Church for that of Rome, that one of his chief inducements to do so was the persuasion that, as the Church is spoken of in Scripture as the one body of Christ, it ought also to have one head; and though St. Paul's words involve the true answer to this difficulty, inasmuch as Christ's body has one Head, even Christ the Lord; the person referred to allowed himself to be deluded into believing that that one Head must be the Pope. This may seem grossly absurd; but it is only the plain explicit avowal of an error which is deceiving many minds at this day, and has brought many into the nets of Rome. Whereas a clearer view of history would convince us that, though Rome, through its position, did act favorably for the maintenance of unity, both in the Western branch of the Church, and in some measure among the nations of Europe during the middle ages, the heart and soul of Christian as of Pagan Rome have ever been hostile to everything like spiritual unity, and have never been able to comprehend anything higher than political unity, the semblance of unity produced by lying under the same yoke, the unity of slaves in a gang, or, at best, of troops in rank and file.

I have spoken of two ideas, of two great truths, which had been grievously forgotten for near two centuries, and the revival of which has been leading men's minds toward Rome, through the common proneness of mankind to confound what is accidental with what is essential. The last century, in its reckless pursuit after the good things of the world, had thrown overboard the most precious portion of the intellectual and moral inheritance it had received from its ancestors: and when people were shaken out of their selfish torpour by the convulsion of the French Revolution, the

wise and intelligent bethought themselves of the forgotten wealth of earlier ages. The excellencies of the middle ages were brought forward and became matter of historical investigation and speculation: it was found that they had many intellectual treasures, which had since been lost: and while the more judicious were desiring to revive the spirit and the principles by which so much good had been wrought, others less wise, but energetic and practical, wishing to carry into act what their judgement approved, have thought it would be desirable to restore the very forms under which these excellencies came to light. All the while it was forgotten that the form is not the spirit, and that the forms of one age must needs be a hollow mask when put upon the spirit of another.

It might be interesting and useful to follow out this enquiry into other particulars, in which we should be led to the very same result, and where we should find that the Romanizing tendency, which has been gaining ground in Germany, in France, and in our own country, more or less since the beginning of the present century, has been fed and pampered by a series of fallacies akin to those which have been already exposed. But the time will not allow me to pursue a discussion, into which I entered somewhat improvidently, and which, if carried out into its details, would fill a good-sized volume. I must confine myself therefore to a brief allusion to some of the other mistakes, which of late years have been producing impressions favorable to the Church of Rome. And here let me premise a general remark, which is justified by a number of facts in the history of the world, and which most people, I believe, will have found confirmed by manifold personal experience. In the days of Noah, we are admonisht, men ate and drank, married

and gave in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all. In like manner it has happened again and again, yea, continually in all ages and countries, that what men have regarded as the hour of their triumph has proved the hour of their destruction. Belshazzar's fate is only an example of a general law. On the other hand, the opposite truth has found expression in divers proverbial sayings, such as, *When need is high, aid is nigh. When the tale of bricks is doubled, Moses is at hand.* The grandest example of this crisis and change was, when in the lowest corruption and degradation of the ancient world, just as the religions of the heathens were worn out, redemption and salvation appeared upon earth. In like manner it was out of the utter corruption of the Church that the Reformation arose; as Milton has noted in a passage of such exquisite beauty and sweetness, that I will quote it, since its charm is heightened in these days, when one so often hears the Reformation reviled. "When I recall to mind," he says, "after so many dark ages wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church, how the bright and blissful Reformation, by Divine power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads and hears, and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel embathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven." Now the aim and purpose of the Revolution at the close of the last century, the aim and purpose of the human agents in it, was to sweep away all the institutions and edifices and customs, all the births and offspring of previous ages, and to launch out the world afresh, stript of all its tackling and furniture, upon the ocean of Time. Whereas the actual effect of the French

Revolution on the European mind has been to revive the study, the love, the admiration of antiquity, more especially of that portion of antiquity, which it was especially desired to expunge from the earth, the middle ages. The middle ages had for generations been the object of general contempt: every witling could speak with contempt of their philosophy and divinity: their architecture and painting was allowed at the utmost to have a rude merit, as the work of uncivilized barbarians: but there was nothing in it to satisfy a refined cultivated age. Now it was just at the beginning of this century that men of wider and deeper knowledge began to see cause for reversing this judgement. It was gradually found that the architecture, the painting, the poetry of the middle ages, contained an unimagined store of beauty and grace; that their philosophy and theology were so subtle and profound, that the philosophy and theology of the eighteenth century lookt miserably shallow and meagre in comparison. Thus in various ways men walkt toward the same point. Some persons were chiefly dazzled by the chivalrous virtues exhibited during the middle ages; others by the saintly graces sometimes found in the monastic institutions; others again have been captivated by the grandeur of the ecclesiastical architecture, or by the simple beauty of the early religious pictures. The effect of these things has been increast through the previous notion that nothing of value was to be found in the remains of the middle ages, and from the contrast between the religious tone and spirit, and the consequent depth and solemnity found in the works of the middle ages, and the worldly sensual tone and spirit of modern literature and art, with its consequent superficialness and frivolity. Now each of these classes of objects, I believe, has been the means of leading more than one convert to

Rome. One man became a Romanist because he admired the knights of the middle ages ; another, because he admired the pictures of Perugino and the earlier works of Raphael ; others, because they admired the architecture of our ancient churches and cathedrals. How strong this latter temptation is, we have seen of late in England. People are fond of comparing the three centuries subsequent to the Reformation with the four or five centuries anterior to it, and because the churches built in England since the Reformation are very inferior in beauty to those built before it, they feel tempted to go over to Rome. But in all these cases there is the very same fallacy of which I have had to speak above. The contrast, whatever it may be, between the works of the middle ages and those since the Reformation has not the slightest bearing on any controversy or comparison between the present Church of England and the Church of Rome. It has been seen in all nations, in which we know anything of the history of literature and art, that there are certain stages in the life of a nation in which its mind is better fitted for grand and genial conceptions in certain departments. But everybody would feel that it would be grossly irrelevant, if a man had said at the end of the Peloponnesian war that the Spartan constitution must be better than that of Athens, because the Homeric poems were grander than the tragedies of Euripides. The comparison, so far as any such comparison can be allowed to have weight in an argument of this kind, should be instituted, not between what the Reformed Churches have done since the Reformation, and what the whole Catholic Church did before, but between the works of the Reformed Churches and those of the Romish Church during the self-same period. This would seem quite plain and self-evident : and yet it would not be easy to calculate the number of

persons who have been imposed upon more or less by this gross fallacy.

The same remarks will apply to the other heads of comparison. If we are to judge the two Churches by comparing their fruits, the comparison must be instituted on equal terms.—If it is to turn on the moral tendency of the two Churches, it must be between the moral character of Protestants and that of Romanists under somewhat similar circumstances and in the same age. If its subject is to be philosophy and theology, we must not put Anselm and Bernard and Aquinas on the one side, and Paley and Blair and Scott on the other : we must take the philosophical and theological works of Romanists since the Reformation ; and then, whatever shame we might feel at the scanty crop we should have to bring forward as the produce of a century and a half, we still should not need to shrink from the comparison. But to compare the growth of a lean year in one land with that of a fat year in another can only mislead.

It may seem to many of you that the various matters I have been enumerating ought not to be allowed to have the slightest efficacy one way or other in the controversy between the two Churches. That some of them are less closely connected with it than others, I readily admit, as well as that the chief battle is to be fought upon different ground, namely, the relative consistency of the two Churches with the Word of God, and their recognition, practical, as well as doctrinal, of the whole truth revealed in Christ Jesus. Here again, though we may not boast, we may yet say that through God's grace, by which our Church is what she is, she will not fear the comparison. We may further say, that the sin of the separation does not rest with her, but with the Church which cast her off,—and that she is convinced of having not

only been thoroughly justified, but bound in duty, to reject the doctrines and practices, for the rejection of which the Roman pontiff schismatically excommunicated her. At the same time it is to be remembered that, as men seldom act from a single motive, so their minds are seldom determined by a single argument. A person may, indeed, fancy that he can state the cause of his conviction in some one definite proposition, and may believe that by this his conduct has been determined : but the very reason why this proposition exercises so much more power over his mind than over others, is, that his mind had been previously biased to welcome it by divers other considerations ; as we know to have been the case with most of the eminent converts who have recently joined the Church of Rome. Their conversion has not been effected by a process of theological reasoning, but has been the growth of years, it may be, and has been grounded on the persuasion that Rome has exercised a more beneficial influence than the Reformation, on the moral, intellectual, political, and social well-being of mankind ; and this persuasion has been mainly founded on the various fallacies spoken of above. Now it is a vain attempt to rebut this persuasion by a theological argument ; still vainer by one of the ordinary invectives against Antichrist, and superstition, and idolatry. If we would prevail with a man, who holds any firm persuasion, we must try to place ourselves on the same ground with him ; we must recognise the truth which he holds : only by so doing may we reasonably expect to deliver him from the error attached to that truth. The course which has ordinarily been taken in combating the new opinions in our Church, has mostly produced little other effect than that of confirming and strengthening the conviction it was intended to overthrow, to repel the holders of them more and more from their oppo-

nents, and to drive them further and further Romeward. Whether a different line of conduct, evincing more sympathy, and a friendlier spirit, would have retained our brethren who have left, or are said to be preparing to leave us, it would be presumption to pronounce. At all events, it would have been conciliatory; it would have promoted peace; and we should then be free from the blame of having aggravated error and provoked schism.

The shallow rationalism which prevailed in Germany at the end of the last century, the debased condition of the arts, the miserable degradation of all public worship, and the moral and political evils under which the German nation was pining, were the primary motives, I believe, which made several men of intellectual eminence throw themselves into the arms of Rome. In so doing, I have already said, they seem to me to have been led blindfold by a variety of fallacies; whereas history, if rightly interrogated, would rather have declared that the excellencies which fascinated them, had grown up in many cases not through the influence of Rome, but almost in despite of that influence, and that the true generative cause was the influence of Christianity, of the Christian spirit, and the Christian life, acting upon the fervid fresh minds of the Teutonic nations. The architecture which excites so much admiration was not Italian, but French, English, German. The graces of the chivalrous character were found in England, France, Spain, rather than in Italy. In fact, if Rome had been the centre of all good, her influence must have entirely changed its character, as it receded from the centre, just as it has been supposed that the sun is a cold body, and that his rays only communicate warmth when mixed with substances from which they elicit the caloric. For hardly any fact in history is more incon-

testable than that the influence of the Papacy at Rome itself and in Italy has been demoralizing and pernicious. Most strange therefore would it seem that the fallacies which were deluding men in Germany forty years ago, should now be deluding so many persons in England, unless one called to mind how apt we are, under the pressure of any immediate evil, to wish ourselves back in a former state, which at the time may have been far more oppressive ; how, for instance, the Israelites, when they were in the wilderness, so often wisht themselves back in Egypt. They forgot its bondage and task-work, when they thought of its fleshpots, and its leeks, and onions. Yet the grapes, and figs, and pomegranates from the promist land were unavailing to lure them onward, when there was an unknown danger to deter them. Is not this an apt type of our Romanizers ? They found themselves in what they deemed, and not without some reason, a moral and intellectual wilderness. In such a case all history teaches us that we should go forward to the land of promise, from which grapes, and figs, and pomegranates have ever and anon been brought to us, and where, if we go forward with a holy confidence in God, the dangers which seem to threaten will vanish before us. But no ; the temperament of many persons is so sluggish, they continually hanker after the past ; *let us go back to Egypt*, they say, *take away your fantastical grapes, and figs, and pomegranates, and give us the leeks and onions which we know to be realities.*

I have been led to speak at considerable length on a subject of the deepest interest and importance ; yet what I have said would require to be greatly expanded, in order to give an adequate view of that subject. All of you, my brethren, I trust will agree with me, that the Romanizing spirit with which many members of our Church have of late been

infected, is greatly to be deplored. You will also agree with me, I hope, in thinking that the various errors and fallacies which I have been trying, however inefficiently, to expose, have a strong tendency to prepare and dispose the minds of young men at least for looking with longing toward Rome. Therefore it might be useful if an abler and completer exposure of these and similar fallacies were put into the hands of our students. At the same time it behoves us to keep ever in mind, that the only way to combat falsehood successfully is to have our loins girt about with truth. We must not deem that we shall effect anything worth effecting by retailing all the old stale slanders and abuse of the Church of Rome. We must prepare ourselves for the conflict by the discipline of laborious study, carried on in a spirit of Christian candour, never setting down aught in malice, but rather rejoicing if we can extenuate anything ; and, above all, our feet should be ever shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace.

From this subject let me now turn to another, in some measure akin to it, and that has recently been producing a strange, almost frantic excitement in many minds, more especially among persons held in high estimation in what is called the religious world. You will already have perceived that I am referring to the Bill which has recently been passed by the Legislature, for an enlarged and newly-modified endowment of the Romish College at Maynooth. There may probably be many among you who deplored that measure. Some weeks since I received certain letters from clergymen in the Archdeaconry which express the deepest regret at it when it was still pending, and in which I was asked whether I did not intend to invite the clergy of the Archdeaconry to petition Parliament against the Bill. As only three such

letters reacht me, I did not think it incumbent on me to take any step in consequence. Had they been numerous, I should of course have deferred to the wish exprest, as far as to convene a meeting of the Clergy, reserving to myself the right of stating why I could not personally concur in such a petition. And now that the measure has become the law of the land, as it is notorious that a very strong repugnance to it is still entertained by many pious persons, who regard it as an unprincipled and irreligious act, while it is greatly to be desired that the moral feelings and conscience of all good men should, if possible, be in harmony with the laws and institutions of their country, it seems to me that it would not become me to allow this opportunity to pass away without laying before you a calm and brief statement of the reasons why I cannot join in the common aversion to the measure in question, but, on the contrary, deem it in its general features—for I cannot discuss its details—a measure expedient in the highest and only true sense of the word, that is, a measure imperatively prescribed by justice and by statesmanly wisdom and policy. Besides, in these days of hateful personalities, when there is so much zeal, or at least so much of the froth and effervescence of zeal, and so little knowledge, and when so many are made sinners for an opinion, by those who are incapable of examining the grounds of any opinions, and whose own opinions are taken up almost at haphazard, and are held the more tenaciously and contentiously from the lurking consciousness that they have no root to stand by ; in these days, when a person is deemed an infidel or a papist because he does not join in all the virulent denunciations uttered by ignorant party-spirit, I am glad to explain my views on a subject on which those entertained by many estimable persons appear to me very erroneous.

At first sight it may seem strange, that a measure which many good men condemn with such vehemence and abhorrence, should be approved of by other good men ; only one knows that this has ever been the case, that there has hardly ever been a question on which good honest men have not been found taking different and opposite sides. Is there then no such thing as truth, that can be distinctly recognised by all as one and the same, and that shall constrain the assent of every ingenuous mind ? I believe there is, and that our differences in most cases arise from our taking different points of view, and from our looking at objects under the sway of differently formed judgements and associations. In many cases it may be difficult to point out clearly where the ground of the difference lies ; but in the present instance the distinction is plain and broad. The denouncers of the grant to Maynooth, that portion of them at least to whom I am referring, look upon the question as a matter of religion ; who deem the grant expedient and right—I speak of it here, and throughout, with reference to its general principles solely,—regard it as a matter of policy or polity in the highest sense of the word. *What, exclaim our opponents, is policy then to be considered apart from religion ? is religion to be cast out from the statesman's thoughts ? Is atheism to be enthroned as the only sound principle of government ?* This is a specimen of the exemplary logic, and still more exemplary candour and charity, with which men professing to be religious in these days are wont to leap to their conclusions. Religion is the fundamental principle of all truth, of all wisdom, of all knowledge, of all justice, of all excellence, moral and intellectual. It is impossible for a man, and still more for a state, to be wise or just without it. But the faculties of man are various ; and so are the objects of human speculation and action ; and

each has its own special principles and axioms, conditions and laws. And when persons who professedly make religion the sole object of their thought and interest, and who therefore must needs be scantily fitted out with the means for exercising judgement on other subjects, especially when nice and intricate, take upon themselves to pronounce on questions which do not lie within their own immediate province, they are apt to err grievously. To refer to a single conspicuous instance: irreligious science is an abomination; and I am firmly persuaded, not only that science rightly followed will minister to religious truth, but also that it is from religion that science, if it is to be healthy, must draw its principles and lifeblood, as we see first in the intimate connexion between all science and Christianity, and again, in that the Baconian reformation of science could only arise in a country where the Reformation of religion had already been established. Nevertheless, it is most certain that the particular problems of science are problems of science, not of religion. They are to be determined on scientific grounds, not on religious grounds. The truth of the Copernican and Newtonian systems of the heavens, for example, is a question of physical astronomy, not of religion; and when those who pretended to have a right of exercising judgement on these questions condemned the theory of Copernicus and Newton, on what they called religious grounds, they wandered audaciously out of their sphere, and set up a miserable, presumptuous lie before the temple of the God of truth. This is now pretty generally acknowledged; yet falsehood and presumption, even when they are compelled to evacuate one post, will not give up the battle against truth altogether, but take up some other similar position, and renew the war. Thus, some who profess to be religious in our own times, are trying to bring the

wonderful questions which geology has recently started concerning the history of the earth under their jurisdiction, and are asserting that these again are questions of religion, and not of science. And what is the result of such practices, except that they give the Lord's enemies cause to blaspheme?

It may be argued that religion is still more intimately allied with all practice, and that in all action it is most dangerous to lose hold of it even for a moment. True; but in each particular sphere of action, the mode of our action is to be determined by special rules and maxims with reference to its particular subject matter. Thus, in making shoes, as Socrates might have said, a man acts not according to the rules of religion, but according to the rules of shoe-making. In tilling the ground, the husbandman is not guided by the rules of religion, but by the rules of agriculture. It is the same in medicine; it is the same in the administration of the laws; it is the same in making laws or legislating. The higher and wider the field of action is, the more nearly does it approach to religion; and the more important is it that the agent should be animated by religious principles. But in each particular act, he is to be guided by the special principles of his own craft, the physician by the rules of medicine, the judge by the laws of his country, the statesman by the principles of policy or political wisdom. And when the officious obtruders of religion, or what is called such, on all irrelevant occasions, would bring it in to bias the judge or the statesman, they can only mislead; they may, and often have led to atrocious crimes. A Jeffrey, an Alva, a Philip the Second, a Dominic, will endeavour on such principles to justify all his crimes: he did not act upon the principles of human justice and mercy, but lied, and burnt, and massacred for the glory of God. In the

examples of such practice we ever see how *corruptio optimi fit pessima*. The Jesuits are the only body of men who have set up this as the one sole determining principle of their whole conduct ; its legitimate offspring is the Inquisition. Hence the profoundest thinker whom England has produced for centuries says, in the opening of his inestimable work on the idea of the Church and State, that he "dislikes the introduction even of the word *religion*, in any special sense, in Parliament, or from the mouth of lawyer or statesman speaking as such ;" and he "earnestly contends that religion cannot take on itself the character of law, without ceasing *ipso facto* to be religion ; and that law could not recognize the obligations of religion for its principles, nor become the pretended guardian and protector of the Faith, without degenerating into inquisitorial tyranny." These words at first sound may be startling to those who have not reflected on the truths which I have just been attempting to express ; yet the writer of these words was the author of a work, the very title of which is "The Bible the Statesman's Manual," and no man was ever more anxious to enforce on all occasions, that religion is the centre and source of all healthy, moral, and intellectual life. The truth I am contending for will be recognized more readily, if we suppose a judge to be deciding a cause between a Protestant and a Romanist, or let us say, between a Christian and a heathen. How is he to be guided in his decision ? by the principles of law ? or by the principles of religion ? I do not mean that there can be any real repugnance between them. True religion, that religious principle which pervades a man's character, and makes him live as ever in his great task-master's eye and act on all occasions as in the sight of God, of the God of justice and of truth, as we have seen it lately

set before us in the noble picture of a man, whom it was one of my highest privileges to call friend, and who has done so much toward making it the leavening principle of English education,—such religion would command him to decide according to the law, and would tell him that any other decision would be iniquitous, and therefore utterly irreligious. Nor, in the present state of public opinion in England, would the boldest and craftiest declaimer at a religious meeting presume in this case to say the contrary. Yet it is only by a long process of purgation that men, even in such a palpable case, have been brought to the conviction that they must not do wrong in God's service, and that the laws are to be administered equally, without any reference to the religious tenets of the persons who come under their sentence. And if we carry the question a little further back, where it does not come before us quite so broadly, we may remember that only a year since a violent ferment was excited through England because the legislature, in considering a legal question concerning certain endowments left for religious purposes, formed their decision according to the principles of the law of property, without regard to the religious opinions of the persons likely to benefit thereby. I am not contending that the provisions of the law were right; the term of years which was held to give a right of property may have been too short: this is a question of legal and political expediency. What I contend for is, that the legislature on that occasion were bound to form their decisions according to the principles of the laws of property, as bearing upon charitable bequests; and that it would have been unjust, and therefore irreligious, if they had taken into account whether one body or another were to be the gainer. And in like manner I contend that the question recently agitated concerning the

grant of Maynooth was not a religious, but a political question, a question of political justice, or, what is the same thing, of political expediency,

I am aware that, even after the ground of our argument has thus been shifted, and we have learnt to look at the question in its true light, it may still be maintained that even on political grounds the grant is inexpedient, for that nothing is more desirable and important to a state than unity of religion among its people. Most readily do I grant this : in a perfect state assuredly the people would all be of one religion : great too and precious was the blessing when the whole English people were united in one faith and one worship. But a government is not to frame its conduct with reference to an imaginary condition of society : it is not to legislate for Utopia or Arcana, for Lilliput or Plato's Republic. Its duty is to look at realities, at the actual condition of the people committed to its charge : and when it finds that what prevails among its people is not the unity of religion and worship, but a great diversity, however a statesman may lament this, he must not blind his eyes to the fact, and proceed as if it were otherwise. This has ever been one of the ways in which governments have hurried on to their own ruin. They have chosen to follow certain traditional notions and maxims ; they have been unwilling to resign certain hereditary prepossessions and privileges ; they have not dared to look at the real state of things. Thus their ancient props have crumbled away from under them, and, falling to the ground, they have discovered themselves in the midst of an alien world.

But how can it be right for the government of a Protestant nation to do anything in support of Romish errors ? After what I have said in former parts of this Charge you will not

suspect me of any very strong predilection for the Church of Rome : but predilections and antipathies must be cast aside, when the question is one of truth and justice. As I have pointed out divers fallacies by which people are lured towards Rome, let me here point out a fallacy in the question just stated, which, I believe, will be admitted to be no unfair mode of stating one of the commonest arguments urged in this matter, namely, that it is morally wrong for the government of a Protestant nation to do anything in support of Romish errors. Here I must contend that the word Protestant involves a fallacy, that the government of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland can no longer be truly termed the government of a Protestant nation. Before the Union with Ireland, the inhabitants of Great Britain might be justly called a Protestant nation : the proportion of Romanists was not then sufficient to render the name inappropriate. But since the Union this has been changed. We have been compelled to recognize the change by the admission of Romanists into Parliament : and however we may deplore that the state of things is such as it is, we must not shut our eyes to it, nor shrink and skulk from the duties which it imposes upon us. In order to take a right view of this matter, we may derive help from a simple illustration. As it is desirable that a unity of faith and worship should prevail in a state, so is it still more desirable that a like unity should prevail in the nearest of all human bonds ; and a blessing above all price is forfeited, where it does not, where a Protestant, for instance, marries a Romanist. Far more terrible would be the loss were a Christian to marry a Mahometan or a Pagan. Yet even in the latter case, were a man to enter into such a calamitous bond, he would contract certain obligations, certain duties, by doing so : he would be

bound to take care that his Mahometan or Pagan wife should be supplied with the means of the free exercise of her religion: and though he would also be bound to do what he could with the view of converting her to Christianity, yet, if he were to urge that his religion would not suffer him to allow her the exercise of hers, what should we say of such a man, unless that he was a shameless hypocrite and scoundrel? The other case, however, that of marriages between Protestants and Romanists, is of frequent occurrence, both in England and elsewhere: and however such marriages must needs fall short of that blessed spiritual unity which ought to prevail in this union, still, in the present divided state of Christendom, they appear to be inevitable, they exist *de facto*, not as insulated facts, which may be left out of account, but so commonly that they must be recognized to exist *de jure* also. Now such marriages are very analogous to the union between England and Ireland; and he who contracts such a marriage is bound from that time forward to take care that his wife, unless he can convert her to his own faith, shall have full liberty and means of worshipping God according to the rites of her own Church: and perhaps it may also become his duty to provide that his children, or, at least, part of them, shall be educated in the tenets of the Romish Church. At all events, one party or other must make a compromise in this matter. Such too is the case with governments, when they find themselves placed in a similar position over subjects holding a diversity of religions. They contract obligations towards each. For, I trust, no one will object that in the former case there will probably be a specific explicit agreement on the point; even if there were no such agreement, the obligation would be equally binding. And though the law which binds governments to provide for the welfare of

their subjects is seldom, if ever, a written law, it is not a whit the less obligatory on that account.

It may be objected that, according to these principles, a government would be bound to provide for every form of sectarianism to be found within its borders. Here, however, we are brought to consider the question as one of political expediency. An ancient and true maxim lays down, *De minimis non curat lex*. Before a state recognises a body of men, it will require proof of the permanence and magnitude of that body. Again, before it employs a portion of its revenues for the education and culture of that body, it will require proof that such help is needed. All history shows that the power of numbers is one of the means whereby political rights are acquired. When the plebeians at Rome became numerous, they acquired a right to share in the honours of the commonwealth. When certain of our manufacturing towns grew to contain such enormous masses of population, they thereby acquired a right to the elective franchise; and the Reform Bill only recognised as law what was already existing not only as a right, but as a necessity. Now nobody will deny that if there ever was a mass of people whose wants cried out to the government to provide them with the proper means of moral culture, it is the miserable peasantry of Ireland. Some however may say, that the way of doing this, the only way in which the government of a Protestant nation can be justified in doing this, so far at least as relates to religious instruction, is by endeavouring to convert the Irish Romanists to the Protestant faith. Here I will not say more on the fallacy already pointed out in the expression *a Protestant nation*. But there is another fallacy involved in that objection, a fallacy, which has been the source of tremendous evils and crimes. The work of conversion is not a work

which belongs to a temporal government, as such, for this among other reasons, that it is a work which a government cannot execute. It is the work of the Church, not of the State. When a State is in alliance with any one branch of the Church, its duty will indeed be to supply the Church with the proper means for exercising its influence, whatever these means may be, and to give it full liberty of action, provided it do not act in such a manner as to destroy the peace of the country. But when a government fancies itself commissioned to convert unbelievers, when, for instance, Charlemagne resolved to convert the Pagan Saxons, or when Simon de Montfort set to work to convert the Albigenses, what can be the result of such enterprises but reckless cruelty and murder? We abhor such acts in the heathen Emperors of Rome: they do not become more praiseworthy, when the Emperor is a Christian.

On the particular details of the late Bill I shall not say a word. To speak of them to any purpose it would be necessary to enter into a minute examination of facts; and I have already detained you far too long. Besides, it was not by these questions of detail that the English people were so much disturbed. It was the principle of the measure that people cried out against, or, as they said, its want of principle, its sacrifice of principle to expediency. Of the fallacy which lies in this cant phrase, I have spoken in a note to my first Charge, and will not prolong this discussion by recurring to it. But on the general principles involved in the measure, I have felt it my duty to say thus much, both because one may easily foresee that other measures will be brought forward ere long, in which the same principles will more or less come into play, and which it will behove us to consider, not as religious, but as political questions, on the grounds of the largest

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political expediency, and because, even if the vehemence of the agitation in men's minds has in some measure subsided, it has not been allayed, I fear, by anything like a calming recognition of the truth. When similar questions recur, it were at least to be desired, that the opposition to them, if they are to be opposed, should be carried on in a different manner. Thirty years ago the petitions of the English people had a meaning: they express the desires of the people, and therefore were attended to. They were sent up by counties, by towns, by corporations, assembled under their constituted authorities. But now the petitions are not without reason cast aside. For who are the petitioners? how do they come together? by whom are they convened? They are everybody and yet nobody; and are assembled to have their ears tickled and a morbid enthusiasm excited by some religious orator-errant. They shout with ecstasy, when they are told that the Pope is Antichrist; and give three cheers to the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Among the many sad symptoms of the times, hardly any is sadder than these huge religious meetings, with all their unhealthy stimulants; few things are more fitted to sadden a sober man, than that the system of agitating the country, which was devised by an Irish demagogue, should now be pursued by persons who are the admiration and delight of the religious world.

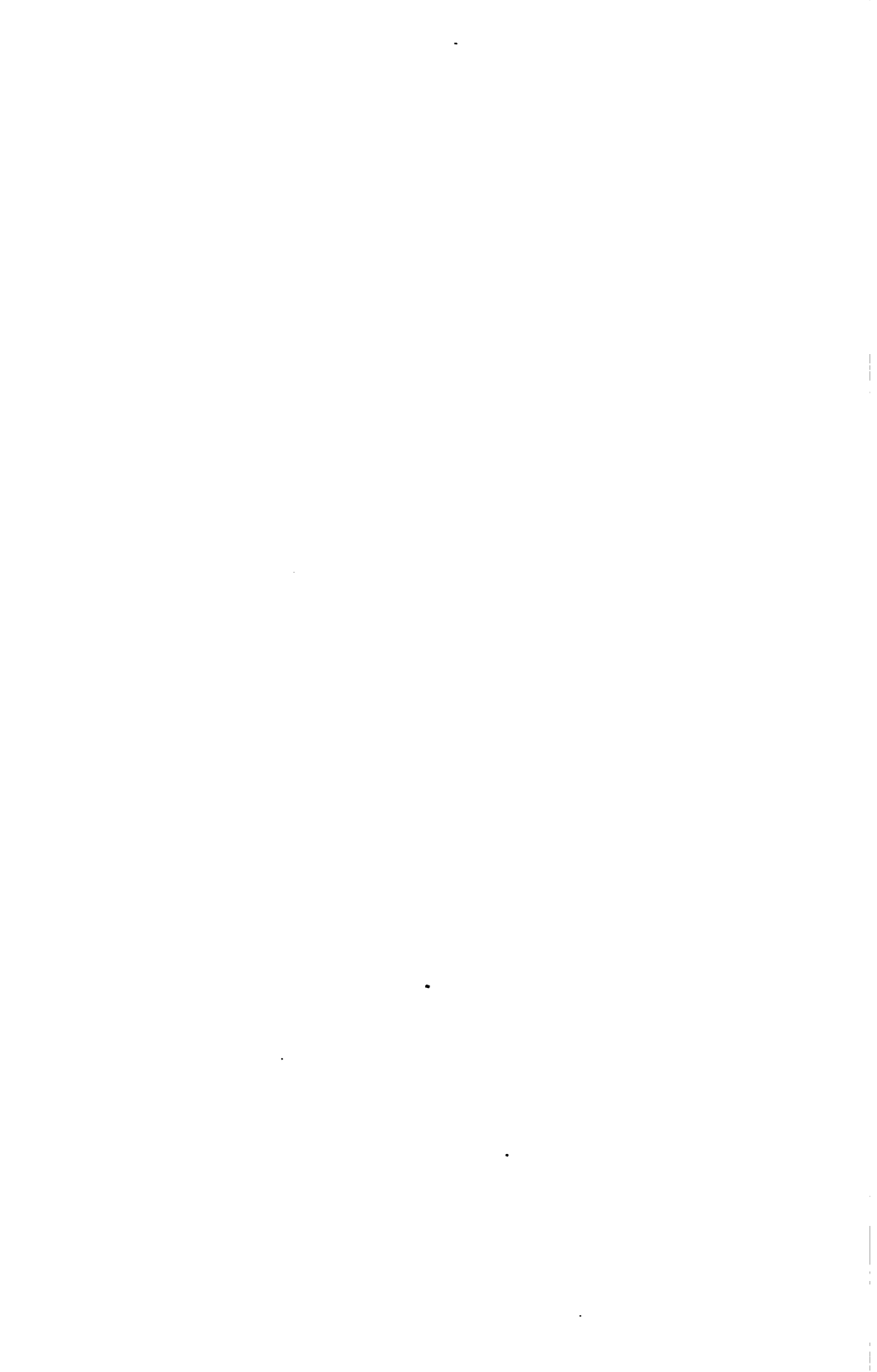
After this long discussion on the two topics which I have felt it my duty to bring under your notice, I must not stop to speak on the various minor matters of practical interest, to which, on an occasion like the present, I should otherwise have called your attention. But I must not entirely pass over the melancholy disputes by which our Church has recently been disturbed, on account of certain innovations introduced of late years into the performance of divine service

in several parishes. I have in former times taken occasion, both at Visitations, and at Rural Chapters, to recommend certain revivals of ancient practices which appeared to be of real moment; and still, wherever they can be carried into effect without breaking up the peace of a parish, I would recommend and urge such revivals. At the same time, however, as some of you will perhaps remember, I have always been anxious to urge, that when you make changes in the mode of celebrating divine service, it should not be in matters merely formal and ceremonial, which in the eyes of many might be deemed superstitious, but in such things as have a manifest practical value, which may be recognised by the more serious-minded members of your congregation. And this caution which seemed to me necessary in the years 1841 and 1843, is still more manifestly necessary now. Indeed, in the present excited state of feeling on these matters, it would be very expedient for every one to lay down as a rule for his own practice, what, if the number of our Bishops were sufficiently enlarged to meet the wants of the Church, would assuredly be a proper rule at all times, not to make any alteration in the mode of conducting public worship, which we find established in our parishes, without a previous application to the Bishop for his advice and direction. If any of you, my brethren, are disturbed by conscientious scruples, and are desirous of bringing the service in your parish into nearer accordance with what you regard as the order of the Church, let me entreat you, in these troublous times, when so much tinder is abroad, and everybody is carrying a box of Lucifer matches about him, not rashly to let any spark fall which may kindle a flame, not to act without previously consulting our Bishop. As I said before with reference to another point: Let your feet be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace.

And to you also, my friends, who are come as Churchwardens to this Visitation, since I have not left myself time to say many words to you, let me address the same blessed exhortation :—Let your feet also be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace. Just as I had written this last night, I lifted up my eyes, and saw the beautiful quiet light of the full moon falling on the sea, and playing on the numberless little wavelets that were rippling toward the shore. Each wavelet was bathed in silvery light, and seemed to look up in tremulous love and adoration toward heaven. Considering the subject that was filling my heart and mind, you will not be surprised that the moonlit sea should have seemed to me a type of a devout congregation, listening with love and joy in peaceful unity to the word of God, read or preached to them by His appointed minister. And you who have the pleasure of living in sight of the sea, I would exhort you, when you see the same sight, to let it remind you of the same spiritual reality ; for bright and lovely and heart-gladdening as the type is, the spiritual reality to a purged eye is far brighter and lovelier, and gladdens his heart far more. Now it is the honorable and blessed privilege of your office to help in bringing about and preserving this heavenly sight of a congregation united in godly worship ; and you are specially to take care that no evil blasts of disorder and misconduct trouble that unity. I am aware that you have been advised and urged during the last year by turbulent spirits, that delight in division and dissension, to keep a jealous and suspicious look-out on the conduct of your ministers, and to sound the alarm and break up the peace of the parish, the moment you find them saying or doing anything you are not accustomed to, and do not quite like. But spurn and cast from you this advice of the Evil

One: it comes from him who was a divider and brawler from the beginning, and who could not bear the blessed sight of the peace and love and adoration in Paradise, but set himself to mar and destroy it. You cannot think it would be better and pleasanter to have had the waves that were lying so peacefully and beautifully under the light of the moon, rent and torn and dashed about by lashing winds and storms. Yet far more hateful and painful and terrible is the sight of a congregation animated by bitterness and jealousy and suspicion, scowling with evil passions instead of shining with love. It has been a dismal feature in the last year, that such sights have been seen more frequently perhaps than ever before.

Be it your business, my dear brethren, to use all the means in your power to procure peace and concord, and to prevent disunion; for remember, that the two spiritual realities of which I just spoke, are themselves only types of eternal realities. You know where it will be that each man will hate his brother, and every heart will scowl upon its neighbour, and all will be hatred and malice, and everlasting jealousy and suspicion. On the other hand, beautiful as the sight on which my eyes rested last night was, beautiful as is the sight of a devout congregation drinking in joy and light from the word of God, far, immeasurably, unimaginably more beautiful is, and ever will be, the sight of the blessed communion of saints, gathered in peace and love into one eternal union, and drinking in love and joy and peace and truth and righteousness from the presence of God.

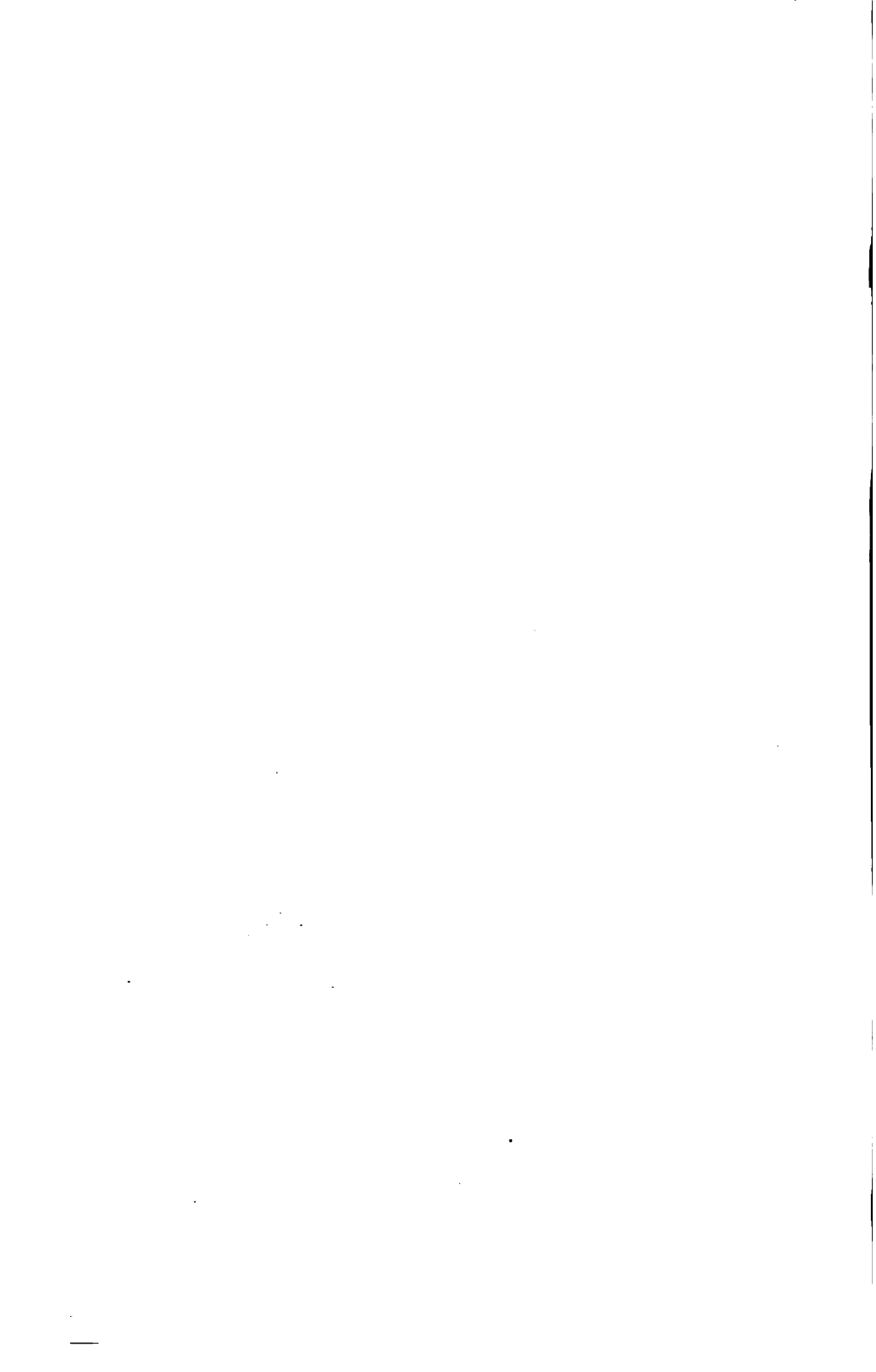


THE ROMANIZING TENDENCIES OF THE AGE :

A CHARGE

TO THE CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF LEWES,

DELIVERED AT THE ORDINARY VISITATION IN 1846.



THE ROMANIZING TENDENCIES OF THE AGE.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

ANOTHER year has past away since we last assembled on this occasion, to take counsel concerning the matters of the deepest and most pressing interest to our Church; and it has again become my duty to speak to you of those events in the past twelvemonth by which her welfare has been the most affected, of those signs in the present aspect of the times, which appear to portend anything momentous to her, whether for evil or for good, and of the warnings and lessons we ought to draw from them for our own conduct and practice. Now if I look back and ask myself what is the most important event which has befallen our Church in the course of the last year, or if I were to put this question to you, my brethren, I conceive you would all join with me in replying that it is the deplorable schism by which so many members of our Church have forsaken her and gone over to Rome. Indeed, the very mention of such a fact has, and ought to have, something quite startling in it. During the last few years, it is true, such a thing has been contemplated as a possibility: it has even been spoken of in the heat of controversy provokingly, as the only legitimate result of certain opinions which have recently been gaining ground. The holders of these opinions have been told that they ought to go to Rome, have been

challenged to do so, have been taunted with dishonesty for not doing so. But a few years back such a thing would have seemed utterly incredible. They who remember what was the common mode of thinking and speaking concerning the Church of Rome, current in England twenty and thirty years ago, will agree with me that, if we had been told in those days that we should travel fifty miles an hour at the heels of a steam-engine, or that we should carry on a conversation at a distance of a hundred miles with scarcely longer intervals than are requisite for taking breath, we should hardly have been more incredulous, than if it had been stated to us in the year 1820, that in the years 1845 and 1846, a considerable number of well-educated intelligent Englishmen, several of them ministers of the English Church, and eminent for piety and holiness of life, would abandon that Church, which is the great glory and blessing of their country, and submit their hearts and consciences to the dominion of Rome. *Why!* many a person would have exclaimed, *you will tell us next, that they are going to re-establish the worship of Jupiter, or of Odin.* Could anything have increast the marvellousness of such a story, it would have been found in the statement that the chief part of the seceders to Rome, and the whole body of opinions which were to lead to the secession, were to issue from the University of Oxford, from the very head-quarters of those principles, which in the language of the day, were termed anti-Catholic. It is a useful lesson that we should be reminded how very insecure our hold commonly is even on those convictions which we may deem the most stable, and, as it were, wrought into the very substance of our hearts and minds. Such a lesson may well diminish our confidence in our own judgements, and the severity of our condemnation

toward our opponents. It should lead us to ask ourselves what it is that has caused us to differ from them, what has preserved us from falling into the selfsame errors ; and it should also lead us to examine whether we do really understand the principles on which our opinions rest.

Even in earlier times indeed, one might now and then hear of a person taking the same step ; but this was always accounted for by certain individual peculiarities of character, or of circumstances, which rendered him apt to fall into such a delusion. Hence the act was often scarcely known beyond the circle of his personal acquaintance, and excited little public notice ; nor was there reason for regarding it as a symptom of any malady lurking in the body of the Church. In the last year, on the other hand, the lapses have been so numerous and frequent, as to indicate that there must needs be some prevalent epidemic ; and such being the case, it becomes of pressing importance to inquire into the nature and causes of the disease, and to seek out the most efficacious remedies.

Nor is it merely a state of things far removed from what any one would have ventured to imagine possible twenty years ago. Nothing at all similar to it has occurred in England since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, or, I might say, since the first dawn of the Reformation. For the relapse into Popery under Queen Mary was of a totally different kind. It was not a voluntary deliberate act, entered upon by a number of independent individuals, without any outward force impelling them toward it, without any bond except that of common principles and personal affection. In the main it was rather a change in the ascendancy of the two parties into which the nation was divided, that which had previously been the lightest, becoming the weightiest when

the influence of the sovereign was thrown into the scale, while that large portion of the people, who had no strong determinate convictions either way, fell back without reluctance into their old familiar habits; and whatever positive recantations may have taken place can hardly be supposed to have arisen from any but worldly motives. Nor did the reign of Charles the First, though the school from which the deserters of our Church have proceeded, has been wont to appeal to the divines of that age, as holding the same principles, exhibit anything parallel to the recent secession. The views indeed which prevailed then with regard to Church-government and discipline, with regard to ceremonies and sacraments, and on divers other controverted points of theology, were in many respects similar to those which have been brought forward so prominently of late. But, along with this similarity, there were important differences. They who held these views were mostly loyal and loving members of the Church of England, cognizant of the grounds of her separation from that of Rome, convinced of the legitimacy and necessity of that separation. They did not ogle and flirt with the Church of Rome, while submitting with a sigh to the bond which tied them to the Church of England. They did not keep on querulously mourning over the accidents of second or third-rate value which had been lost by the separation, forgetting the inestimable blessings, touching the very centre and heart of sound faith and morals, which had been gained. The galling of the yoke under which the Church had pined for centuries had not past away; so that they could not feel ashamed of the name whereby we profess our duty of protesting against that godless yoke; nor did they disclaim their brotherhood with the foreign branches of the Church which were joined to them in that protestation. The very conflict

which they had to wage, the sufferings they had to endure, for the sake of the Church, endeared her to them still more, and rendered their love for her a passionate reality. It was not merely in the solitude of their studies that they offered up their homage to a phantom of their own imagination, the face of which some cross-wind of fancy might alter, or even obliterate: nor were the blows they had to bear those of paper pellets. Doubtless too, if there had been any outward warfare in these last years assailing our Church, if she had been the object of persecution, several of those who have now forsaken her, would have continued by her standard, and have rejoiced to encounter death itself in her cause. But there is hardly any situation more dangerous, more beset with temptations, than inaction to those who are framed for activity. The restlessness of the fervid spirit vents itself in lashing the bars of its cage, and fancies that, if it can but escape from those bars, it shall be free. Instead of submitting patiently to "bear the ills we have," or taking up arms against them to oppose them, in the assurance that the soldiers of faith shall overcome the world, we are ever prone "to fly to others that we know not of." Now this, in the time of Charles the First men could not do, if they betook themselves to Rome. The evils of Popery were then too notorious, too flagrant, too glaring, so that a man could not hide them from his eyes by calling up a logical mist. But when the grounds on which Papists had been excluded from political power were pronounced by the Legislature to be invalid, they who could not appreciate the true principles of toleration, persuaded themselves that it meant approbation; and, as is often the case when one approaches what had long been a bugbear, they who found that Romanism was not so terrible and atrocious, such a rampant monster of iniquity,

as they had pictured it, ran over to its side and exclaimed that there was nothing at all evil or alarming in it. Besides, there is something in the speculative habits of our age that renders it easier for us to neglect facts, and even to defy them. The *prima facie* evidence of facts has been proved in so many respects to be fallacious; why should we hesitate to assume that it must be so in all things. So many prejudices have been overthrown, so many prepossessions, which seemed to be as firmly rooted as the hills, have been assailed with a train of arguments, and exploded, that it has become a sort of sport for the ingenious to show their dexterity by trying to blow up some new article of the popular faith. But no men are surer to fall into their own snares, and to perish by their own devices, than they who play tricks with their conscience, and amuse themselves by shewing off their subtilty at the cost of truth. If we forsake Truth, truth will forsake us, and we cannot recall her. We may cry to her, but she will not hear us: we may pursue her; but our feet will stumble every moment, entangled in our own meshes.

On the other hand, it will easily be perceived that the conversions to Romanism, which took place in the reign of Charles the Second, were wholly different from those in our days. It is to the honour of our Church, that in the time of her depression, hardly any of her children abandoned her. But when she regained her power, some of those who hated and despised the Puritans, thought they should find an anodyne for their consciences, an indulgence for their licentious habits at Rome. Then it became a fashionable saying, that Calvinism is not a religion for a gentleman, and that Romanism is. Such was the current version of the declarations, that the Kingdom of Heaven is of the poor; and that it

is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. But in the conversions of our times it is remarkable and undeniable, that they do not proceed in any degree from what are commonly called worldly motives, nay, that they have taken place in opposition to all such, and at a great sacrifice of much that must needs be dear and precious, even to the most disinterested and magnanimous, of the esteem and regard of friends, it may be even of family ties, of opportunities of labouring in the vineyard of the Lord. So too, though we may deem that the converts have shewn much intellectual perversity or weakness, and not a little waywardness of will, several of them are indubitably persons eminent for holiness and good works ; and, so far as I am aware, there are hardly any whose character has been impeacht by credible testimony, unless in what regards the above-mentioned perversity of will. Indeed, this is what renders the event a phenomenon so strange, and of such interest in the history of our Church. This is the reason why we regard it with so much pain and awe ; and this is the only ground which could justify my bringing it thus prominently before your notice to-day. It is true, evil ought to be of all things the most strange, the most awful, the most terrible to the Christian ear. But we know far too well, that, awful and terrible as it may be, strange it cannot be. If the defections from our Church could be imputed to any peculiar vices in the persons who have left us, to motives of interest or ambition, to recklessness about holy things, or to individual profligacy, to any of those motives, the confluence of which renders the name of apostate the most shameful and hateful of all names—horrible as the sin would be, its perplexity would only be a part of the great mystery of

iniquity, and our struggle against it would be a part of that great war which we have to wage against the unbelief and other sins of the world.

But I will not suppose, my brethren, that there can be any among you so destitute at once of knowledge and of love, as to join in the vulgar railing accusations, imputing all manner of evil to our brethren who have left us, however you may deplore and condemn their sad and fatal error. I trust you all leave such language and such thoughts to those religious, or more truly irreligious, journals and newspapers, which are among the special calamities and pests of the day. Many of the seceders, it is certain, so far as human eye can pierce, have been exemplary for their piety, and for their zeal in acts of Christian liberality and love. Let us not deny this, or hesitate to admit it. Let us endeavour studiously to keep our hearts and our tongues free from that which has always been one of the worst characteristics of Popery, its unscrupulous disregard of truth and honesty in speaking of and dealing with its adversaries. And this, we may be assured, will ever be the best mode of promoting the cause of truth, to hold fast ourselves to truth in all things, and to be careful of saying or thinking more evil of our opponents than the facts warrant and constrain us. If railing and reviling had any power to convince people of their error, or to check the spread of pernicious doctrines, the work would have been accomplished long ago : for those remedies have been tried in overwhelming abundance. But in dealing with error, I believe it would generally be found that the homœopathic treatment is the most efficacious, although the ordinary method hitherto, especially in matters pertaining to religion, has been the allopathic, and that too, using the most drastic remedies, which often have only inflamed the disease.

Whereas the manifestation of sympathy, the candid recognition of such particles of truth as are ever mixt up, more or less, with the errour, more especially when held by persons of unquestioned intellectual and moral worth, and the attempt to disentangle and extricate these particles from that which distorts them, might win a way for arguments, which else would be angrily repelled.

It is from the character of the converts, I say, in part from the intellectual eminence of a few, but in a far greater degree from the piety and Christian activity of many amongst them, that the recent schism derives its peculiar importance. Therefore does the Church of England mourn so deeply over the loss of so many of her children who had suckt in the love of God and the faith in Christ from her breasts, and whom she had trained to serve her and her Lord in the walk of good works. Therefore, too, do the Romanists, both at home and abroad, exult and lift up the song of triumph, and anticipate that these conversions are only the firstfruits of a rich coming harvest, and that the Church of England ere long will bow her free neck, and crawl on her knees to Rome, and beg for the chains of her ancient bondage. Therefore are these conversions regarded by many as falling stars, which by some are deemed to be the rudiments of a new world, by others to prove that the Church is entering into a new sphere of her being. What then! you may ask: do I mean, in thus fully acknowledging the importance which the recent schism derives from the character of the converts, to imply that I partake in those anticipations which our adversaries found thereupon, that the Church of England is about to tear up the charter of her being, to surrender every right and every blessing which God bestowed upon her at the Reformation, to renounce the liberty wherewith Christ has

made her free, and to put on a monk's cowl in acknowledgement that she has no right to look up to heaven? No! my brethren, the words I have been using with regard to Rome must be ample proofs that this cannot be my meaning. So help us God, the Church of England never shall recognize the tyrannical supremacy of the Church of Rome, or any superiority or authority or jurisdiction of Rome whatsoever: for none is grounded in right; and the least would open the way and afford encouragement to further usurpations. So help us God, Rome shall never impose her carnal fictions, her unholy ordinances upon us. "The faith we from our fathers hold in trust, We to our children will transmit, or die."

Assuredly there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of hearts in England that are animated with this feeling. May I not hope that among you, my brethren, there is no heart which is not? And if this be so, then, as we cannot doubt that our cause is the cause of God and of His truth, we may feel a humble but hearty trust that He will not withdraw the light of His truth from us, that He will not suffer that candlestick, which He has set up in England, to be extinguished, that He will not allow the dark clouds of Popery to spread over the nation that He has once delivered from it.

If this however, be so; if we may reasonably trust that the cause of our Church is the cause of the God of Truth, and if the triumph of Popery would be the triumph of gross error and falsehood, how does it come to pass that persons of acknowledged piety and holiness have forsaken the Church of England for that of Rome? Are not uprightness and holiness, is not the endeavour to preserve a conscience void of offence before God and before man, among the best

purifiers of the judgement? Does not our Lord Himself promise that they who do His works shall know that His doctrine comes from God? Here it is requisite to draw a distinction. Simplicity of purpose, the purity of the feelings and affections, the desire to walk in God's ways, are the best security for rectitude of judgement in those matters which lie immediately before us, or come within the reach of our clear knowledge. When the light of the Spirit dwells in the heart, it enlightens the understanding to discern good from evil. But this is necessarily restricted to those things concerning which we possess an adequate knowledge. It teaches us how we are to act according to the knowledge which we have; but it does not communicate knowledge to us concerning the things of which we are ignorant. Thus, for instance, it continually happens, that men, equally good, equally pious, equally desirous of serving God, are to be found on opposite sides, each doing that which is right according to his judgement. Even at the Reformation, great as was the preponderance of moral energy, of faith, of singlehearted zeal for the glory of God, on the side of the Reformers, it is not to be questioned that many humble sincere Christians, continued within the fold of the ancient Church. This conviction is no encouragement to scepticism, as it is sometimes hastily deemed. The assertion that there are divers things relatively right, does not militate against the recognition of one central principle of right and truth, which may be approached by various ways. The child, thinking and acting as a child, may do that which is right for the child, but which would not be right for a man: and the man, casting away childish things, may do that which is right for him as a man, but which would have been wholly unbecoming when he was a child. In like manner, as our judgement, even with regard

to visible objects is much modified by our position, so is it much more by our position in reference to moral objects ; and under the term *position*, we must include all manner of accidents of temper, education, information, habits, circumstances. This is a point which I am for ever urging ; but it is a truth of much need at all times, above all in an age of religious dissensions. For by a natural unavoidable fallacy, we ever place our brethren in our circumstances, and invest them with our own feelings and knowledge ; and then we condemn them for not thinking and acting as we do. Assuming that their premisses are the same, we blame them for not drawing the same inference : but all the while we forget that they are not standing in our shoes, and that their premisses must be different, it may chance very different, from which they cannot legitimately draw the same, but must needs draw a very different conclusion. Still our conclusion may be the right one, and theirs may be very erroneous ; yet the way to refute it will not be by imputing it to obliquity of moral vision, but by explaining how it proceeds from obliquity or from indistinctness of intellectual vision.

Thus it can hardly be doubted that a large part of the persons who have recently gone over to the Church of Rome, have taken this step with a very insufficient knowledge of what the Church of Rome really is, what it is as a reality existing at this day in those countries where it is dominant, what it has been as a historical reality from the time when it began to fall away from the simplicity and lowliness of the Gospel. Most of them assuredly have a very imperfect conception of the principles, which not merely justified, but, we may say, constrained our Reformers to act as they did in rejecting the usurpt supremacy of Rome, and to purge our

Church from the scandalous corruptions of doctrine and practice which had almost extinguished the power of Christianity. Such gross misrepresentations of historical truth have been circulated in all forms of late years, such exaggerations of the human failings of the Reformers, and of the excesses inseparable from so great a convulsion, while the evils against which they had to contend have been slurred over or palliated, or wholly suppressed, that it is not to be wondered at if those who draw the chief part of their information and of their opinions from a certain class of literary caterers, have been led to suppose that the Reformation was the most calamitous event in our history, and that the Reformers were a body of rash, self-willed, ambitious, worldly-minded schismatics. There is enough in the events of that, as of every other age, to furnish some sort of colour for a twofold picture, more or less favorable and unfavorable to each of the two parties: and if all the evil on the one side be mitigated and excused or omitted, and all on the other side be brought out with divers aggravations and no slight admixture of falsehood, he who is imposed upon by such a representation may curse where he ought to bless, and may love and bless that which was indeed a curse to his country. It is not easy to estimate the power of such delusions, when they are propagated by those whom we regard with reverential affection, by those to whom we may perhaps owe the first eliciting and the subsequent culture of our spiritual being. A person who has exercised an influence of this sort may easily grow to be regarded as an oracle, more especially if he happens to be the object of any kind of persecution. Then the power of fashion in opinions is so enormous. Any one who has had the opportunity of watching the vicissitudes of public opinion for a score or two of years, must have seen time after

time, how some object suddenly darts forward, gets into vogue, is the one thing that everybody talks about, seems to absorb universal attention and interest, as if it were the one thing of paramount importance; and then, after a season, by a turn of the wheel it slips down, and is almost forgotten. The greatest poet of the last generation has prefixed this motto to one of the volumes of his *Memoirs*: "What one desires in one's youth, one finds in one's old age in abundance." This he experienced himself in a number of instances, so that often in his latter years he had to strive against the overweening estimation of that, for the due appreciation of which, in his younger days he had been one of the first to contend. Living in an age of dreary, shallow, prosaic rationalism, when all former ages were viewed with self-complacent scorn, which vented itself especially upon what are called the middle ages, and which viewed all their memorials, their civil and religious institutions, their poetry, their painting, their architecture, as barbarous,—an age when all Europe seemed to have assumed the motto which the town of Geneva took at the Reformation, *Post tenebras lux*,—he discerned the beauty and worth of much that was then depreciated and despised, and he was among the first in opening the eyes of others to discern it. But in his latter years he found that what had been unduly deprest was no less unduly exalted.

In my last Charge I drew your attention to the analogy between the conversions which have been going on in Germany, since the beginning of the present century, and those which have taken place recently in England; and I endeavoured to point and trace out a variety of fallacies, by which, it seems to me, many of the German converts, and several of the English likewise, have been more or less deluded. To this point I will not recur to-day, except for the sake of mentioning two

important features in which our English conversions differ from the German. In the first place, when the principal German converts left the Protestant Churches in which they were born, the heart of religion in those Churches was almost eaten out by a rationalizing unbelief; and the unstilled religious cravings, which could find nothing to satisfy them in their original home, might excusably be tempted to go and seek for something congenial, where at least there was the outward form and semblance of a religious worship exciting and gratifying some of the highest qualities of our nature. But no excuse of this sort can be alledged in behalf of those who have been quitting our Church. In her very lowest state of doctrine and practice, her ancient discipline kept her from running into those extravagances of speculation in which the theology of Germany has so freely indulged; nor were the badges of our Christian profession ever banisht in the same degree from our social life. And during the last half century, Christian feeling has been gaining ground every year, at least among the upper classes; the observances which bear witness to the influence of Christianity in our domestic life have every year become commoner; the inculcation of Christian principles, instead of ethical maxims, the preaching of Christ, and of Him crucified, has every year become more general in our pulpits; we have every year been acquiring a livelier consciousness of the great works to which God has vouchsafed to call us both at home and abroad, and more persons have felt how blessed is the privilege of being allowed to aid in the carrying on of those works; church-services and communions have been becoming more frequent: even in the minor points of ecclesiastical order, of decoration, of church-architecture, many improvements have recently been made.

It is true that, as is continually the case, both in our

inward moral life, and in the institutions of society, the earnest effort to remove one evil often disclosed others, requiring still greater efforts to remove them : nor, in speaking of what has been effected, do I mean to imply that we have the slightest ground for boasting or for self-satisfaction. I am merely urging that they who have left us cannot plead in their excuse, as the German converts might plead, that they have taken flight in consequence of the utter decay of all spiritual life in the Church of their fathers, or that they could not find an opportunity for exercising their gifts in the service of God within that Church. There are ample opportunities within it, nay, pressing calls, for the highest faculties of every kind, for every intellectual, for every moral, for every spiritual power ; only that in this, as in other modes of operation, we are not to choose our own field of action, and our own method, but must submit to work in the field and after the manner which God has ordained for us. Nor ought we to desist from our work, because we are assailed with reproaches and abuse, however bitter and unmerited they may be. The scoffs of Sanballat only made Nehemiah urge the Jews to labour more diligently. And do not the beatitudes teach us that one of the privileges of Christ's servants is to endure persecution in His service ? The submitting patiently and perseveringly to labour in that service, through evil report and good report, is an incomparably better discipline of the spirit than hair shirts, and scourges, and dark cells.

This brings me to speak of that which seems to me one of the chief causes or sources of the recent unfortunate acts of schism. The second point of contrast, to which I alluded just now, between the German conversions and the English, is connected with one of the pervading differences in the

character of the two nations. The decision of the German converts rested mainly on speculative grounds, with some of them on merely esthetical grounds, with some on political, with some on ecclesiastical, with some, it may be, on dogmatical. What some loved in Rome was the mother of the arts, who fascinated men's feelings, and purified their tastes by setting up the beautiful worship of the Virgin. Others admired what they regarded as her beneficial influence in cementing the nations of Europe by a common bond of union. Others desiderated a centre of religious unity; others, an authoritative expounder of truth. With us, on the other hand, inasmuch as our practical tendencies predominate so greatly over the speculative, the cravings which have led, and which, it may be feared, unless the disease be checked, may still lead many to Rome, relate more to matters of discipline. It is supposed that Rome has provided better for the religious wants both of individual and of social or national life. Some fancy that what they especially need is a greater frequency and variety of liturgical services, and that the worship of the Romish Church is more fitted to promote the growth in holiness than our own. Others think that they should be better able to contend against their inward foe, and to overcome the temptations that beset them, if they were able to confess their sins to a priest. Others again would persuade us that the panacea for all the social and moral evils of England is to be found in a clergy bound by vows of celibacy, and in monastic institutions. Others deem that the only effectual way of putting down and crushing the sceptical and rationalizing spirit of the age is to set up the infallible authority of the Church, embodied in that of the Pope; who, however, would not be able to accomplish much, unless he were supported by his auxiliary tribunal of the Inquisition.

Here let me remark, generally, with reference to these and all similar plans for healing the present evils of the Church, that they who place reliance in any of these remedies, if they deem themselves qualified for giving counsel, whether by word of pen or otherwise, would be fully justified in recommending the adoption of that which they think likely to be beneficial, and in urging it with an earnestness proportionate to the strength of their conviction. But for persons to leave our Church, because she does not straightway bow to their advice and do as they bid her,—for any one to go over to the Church of Rome, because his own Church does not supply him with those institutions and ordinances which he fancies would better promote his own personal edification, or that of his neighbours,—is an utterly lawless act of the most presumptuous self-will. It is just as if a political reformer were to abandon his native land, or to lift up the standard of rebellion in it, because the Legislature hesitated to adopt the measures which he recommended as expedient for the good of the State. We are not to frame our own institutions, our own world, though almost everybody in these days wishes to do so, and thinks himself qualified for the task. We are to occupy our station in the world, such as God and our ancestors have made it, availing ourselves of all the means of good which it may afford, endeavouring indeed, when we see anything wrong or mischievous, to correct it by legitimate methods; but for the great bulk of mankind, the best mode of fulfilling their duty will be by striving to animate and actuate the existing forms of society with high, moral, and religious principles, not to change and re-model those forms. We are so apt in all things to fancy that, if we change the outward form, the circumstances, the dress, our work will be done. This arises in great measure from our moral torpour.

We postpone the exercise of that moral energy, which is the main thing needful, and which would work good under every combination of circumstances ; and we excuse ourselves to our consciences with the notion that our circumstances hinder us. Meantime, while the depths of our will lie stagnant ; the water at the surface, our wilfulness, is in commotion, and is fluttered and flattered with the thought of altering the face of the world, whereas the results of moral energy would be far less prominent and obtrusive. Yet, even though the form were changed, nothing essential would yet be done ; the whole work would have to begin from the beginning. Even the heathen satirist, you will remember, had discerned this truth.

*Coelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt :
Strenua nos exercet inertia : navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere : quod petis hic est :
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.*

Even he felt that " the mind is its own home." Much more should we, who live in the time when the true worshippers have no longer to go to Jerusalem to worship the Father, but are called to worship Him in all places in spirit and in truth ; we who know that the mind of the Christian is not merely its own home, but that it is the temple of the Holy Ghost, who is no respecter of circumstances, and who assuredly is no less present in the Church of England than in that of Rome.

Nor can we well fail to remember, among the numerous inconsistencies and contradictions which mark the new school in our Church, that one of its main purposes from the first has been to contend against the exercise of private judgement. You know how private judgement has been rebuked and derided : all manner of evils have been said to

result from it : much unseemly abuse has been poured out on the Reformers, because they followed the dictates of their consciences, instead of sacrificing their consciences to the dictates of the Church, that is, of the persons who happened at the time to bear sway in the Church. On this matter there has been a vast deal of confusion : very different acts, some of them reprehensible, some inevitable, some laudable, have been heapt together under the head of private judgement, and have all fallen under the same censure. This confusion I cannot here pause to unravel. Thus much however seems plain, that, while Luther's conduct, for instance, at Worms, was the only conduct consistent with honesty and truth, whereas, if he had recanted, and denied what the most diligent and careful examination of God's word compelled him to believe, he would have been a base recreant and renegade ; on the other hand, to make private judgement the arbiter of great and complicated historical and ecclesiastical questions, or of questions of practical expediency, is utterly incompatible with law and with the due subordination of the individual member in the social system. When the question is, whether we are to obey God or man, the Christian must not hesitate ; nor on the other hand, ought he to hesitate, when, with regard to outward matters the question is, whether he is to follow his own judgement, or that of those who are set over him in the Lord.

I have been speaking on the supposition that the things which the deserters of our Church longed for, and for the want of which they have quitted her, are really expedient and desirable. Even then they ought to have abode patiently in the place where God had set them, doing what they could indeed, by calm reasonable persuasion to effect the alterations they wisht, but waiting until God in His own time should see

fit to bring them to pass. This is the only line of conduct consistent with Christian humility and obedience, the line which they ought to have taken, the line which ought to be taken by those, if there are any still amongst us, who entertain similar opinions. In an ordinary state of things indeed, it might be deemed an idle truism to tell people that they must not fancy they are to regulate and remould ecclesiastical institutions and ordinances according to that which may seem right in their eyes, and that they are to leave the settling of such things to those to whom God has committed the government of His Church. But even such primary maxims are violated in these days by persons professing to rule their lives by God's law. Still a further important question remains : would the changes, which are thought likely to be beneficial, really be so ? To answer this question at all adequately would far exceed the limits I must impose on myself : I can only suggest a few brief observations.

The mere fact, that the institutions, for which several persons amongst us are longing, were devised or adopted by the Church of Rome, is at least a presumption that they were framed with a good deal of practical wisdom ; this being one of the qualities which the Church of Rome inherited from the republic and the empire. In the wisdom of the serpent, so far as that can go when divorced from the harmlessness of the dove, she has ever been eminent above other Churches. But such wisdom is apt to degenerate into worldly cunning. Wherever the serpent goes, he leaves a slime in his path ; and whatever he touches is tainted therewith. Thus, as worldly-mindedness has always been a distinctive characteristic of the Romish Church, as her whole policy has declared, in direct contradiction to our Lord's declaration, that her kingdom is of this world, we

may perceive in her whole system that her chief object has been to make men dutiful and submissive to her, much more than to make them living members of Christ. Her ritual, for instance, with all its beauty and splendour, is certainly not framed for bringing men to worship God in spirit and in truth, but much rather, like the ceremonial pageants of the heathens, for winning and fascinating the minds of the people, and for giving the hierarchy a command over them. A large portion of it may doubtless have been intended in the first instance, to engage the imagination and the feelings in behalf of Christianity, in regions where these parts of our nature are more susceptible, and among persons whose understandings had hardly been drawn out of the shell. But as we find, in our days, that the understanding has its dangers, its own wilfulness, its proneness to substitute its forms and processes for spiritual truth, so the imagination likewise has dangers of its own, and these are no less destructive to the purity and simplicity of faith. Hence all manner of idolatries ; hence a spirit of religious voluptuousness, so to say, which allied itself easily with the grossest immorality. That which was meant to represent and symbolize spiritual realities, grew, as is perpetually the case, to be regarded as the only reality ; and they who exercised authority in the Church, many of them, not only did not contend against the delusion, but even fostered and pampered it. Hereby Christianity in course of time, was quite overlaid and overgrown with falsehoods. Owing to this, at the Reformation, when men's minds were again quickened to discern the spiritual truths of the Gospel through the tawdry trappings which covered and concealed them, a severer ritual was established ; much of that which had fed the imagination was cut off, as ministering occasion to idolatry, and a greater

prominence was given to that which appealed to the understanding. For the dangers of the understanding were but faintly known ; the rocks and quicksands which surround it were very imperfectly marked out in the charts of those days : it was not so well ascertained that we are scarcely less prone to idolize the abstract forms of thought than pictures and images, and that the words which address our reasoning faculties may leave our inward man quite as unmoved as the sights and sounds which strike on the senses. In such things the Church has full authority to determine that which it may deem conducive to edification ; and though private individuals have liberty to suggest and recommend changes, they are bound to submit to the decision of those who are invested with authority. That decision, in each national Church, will of course be regulated by a consideration of the general wants of the particular nation and age, as they manifest themselves in the great body of the people ; and it will hardly be able to take account of those religious fancies, which, among the revolutions of manners, may easily become fashionable for a time among the more cultivated classes of society.

In fact, the main source of this ill-regulated craving for a splendid and varied ritual, such as shall act more immediately upon the imagination, is the want of faith, which, we shall find, is also the source of the other inordinate cravings mentioned above. It is because we have not a faith strong enough to give substance to spiritual truths, that we desire to have those truths imaged and shadowed forth by outward representations. Because we cannot take in the full meaning of the promise, that the Father shall be worshipt in spirit and in truth—because we cannot believe that God will be present with us in our seasons of solitary prayer, and of

family worship—therefore do some persons go over to Rome, from not finding the practice of daily services in their Parish Churches. I grant readily that an additional blessing may be expected to rest on a parish where it is found practicable to gather any considerable number of persons together in the daily communion of public worship; and wherever this can be done, wherever the local circumstances of the parish do not present almost insuperable obstacles to it, I would earnestly exhort you, my brethren, to ponder well whether it does not behove you to establish a daily service in your Churches. I cannot speak more positively in behalf of a practice in which, owing to the unfortunate position of my own Church, I cannot set you an example; nor would it be expedient for you to proceed without due caution, or to take any step without consulting your Bishop, at a time when every innovation, however manifestly conducive to holiness, may disturb the peace of a parish. Most entirely too, do I concur with those who think, that, if the introduction of daily public services into a parish tended to supersede family prayer in the particular houses, it would be a great calamity. For the regular practice of family prayer in every dwelling would be a far greater blessing, not only because a far greater number of persons, indeed every soul in the parish above the age of infancy, may thus be assembled before God's footstool every day, but also because it tends to make every Christian more fully realize the blessedness of his calling, to make him understand how he too is a member of that holy priesthood into which all by baptism obtain entrance, how every father of a family is especially the priest of that family, and how every Christian dwelling is a holy place, how holiness is no way a prerogative belonging exclusively to Churches, and to those who are ordained to the ministry, but is granted

to all men and to all places in Christ ; so that all of us may draw near through Him to the Father. But I cannot see why the establishment of daily public prayer should check or interfere with the practice of daily family prayer, unless indeed, encouragement be given to a blind superstitious notion of an exclusive sanctity as belonging to the former. Rather, as all the Christian graces thrive and flourish best in union, so do all the offices of holiness : they who are brought to love God do not find their desire for communion with Him slacken, but increase, in proportion as it is gratified. Moreover, although I cannot deem that a person who seceded to Rome on such grounds would be justified in doing so, still assuredly it would not be seemly that our Church should be exposed to the charge that her children are leaving her because they cannot find opportunities for the daily public worship of God.

Again, and in a still higher degree, does the want of faith manifest itself in the craving which is felt by many for an opportunity of confessing their sins to a priest, with the purpose of receiving his absolution. It is a proof of the strange ignorance, or wilful blindness, which prevails in a certain school concerning the most notorious facts in the history of the Church, that auricular confession not only finds its apologists, but even its eulogists in these days, that any persons should long after it for their own edification, that any should speak of it as the only efficient means for building up the whole people in faith and godliness. An efficient instrument it certainly is, an instrument of awful power ; but it has been tried, and it has been found to be a terrible curse. It is a power not committed to man, and seems like some magical charm which man is not fit to use, and which he can hardly attempt to use without abusing it. Twenty

years ago, if any one had to speak of auricular confession, he would hardly have done so without some word expressing abhorrence. If any person was enumerating the evils of Popery, foremost well nigh in the list would have stood "the abomination of auricular confession." So too, is it one of the chief abuses which are complained of in Romish countries at this day, and its abolition is anxiously desired. But, as it is the main prop of the power of the hierarchy, this desire will hardly be accomplisht, unless by some convulsive struggle. The wish for it now entertained by some persons in England arises, I said, from want of faith. We do not feel a sufficiently lively assurance of God's presence, of His hearing us, of our having gained an access to Him through Christ, so that we may confess our sins to Him, and of His readiness to forgive the sins of all such as come to Him with penitent hearts in the name of His Son. This is one of the great trials of our faith, one of the things which it is the hardest for flesh and blood to believe; and therefore do we crave after a visible ear into which to pour our confession, a visible minister from whom we may receive the declaration of God's pardon; and when this is granted to us, a number of superstitious delusions spring up; the minister is exalted into a priest, and is supposed to have the power of conferring absolution; which is soon regarded as depending on the outward act of confessing to the priest, rather than on the spiritual confession to God. At the same time there are other motives which induce the same wish, and which have perhaps acquired a more than ordinary strength from the peculiar character of the age. As we are not only members of Christ, but members one of another in Christ, God has been graciously pleased to order that, in our spiritual, no less than in our temporal life, there should be a constant inter-

change of giving and receiving. We are all to teach one another ; we are all to help one another ; to minister to one another, according to our ability : and so are we to confess our sins one to another. In a truly Christian community this would be the practice ; and its fruits would be most blessed : but it can hardly prevail except where true Christian humility is found, and true Christian love, and true Christian simplicity, and true Christian frankness. On the other hand, where, under the hierarchal corruption of the Scriptural ordinance, the confession is not to be the mutual outpouring of two Christian hearts, opening their secret depths to each other, but is to be made to a priest, the whole relation between the parties is perverted ; and he who deems himself elevated thereby above the region of common human sinfulness, is perhaps the chief sufferer by the perversion. In an age of high cultivation and refinement, and sensitiveness to worldly influences like the present, the difficulty of attaining to that Christian simplicity and frankness, which are requisite ere we can confess our sins one to another, is perhaps greater than ever ; and as at the same time we have been making rapid strides in many quarters toward the Romish error, which invests the minister of Christ with the superhuman, mediatorial powers of the priesthood, it is not surprising that those who have imbibed the error, and who cannot realize the idea of the universal Christian priesthood, should long to have a human substitute for the Divine Mediator and Absolver. Against this error we can only contend by pointing out its utter fallacy, its terrible mischiefs, and the evil sources out of which it springs ; and on the other hand, by increase earnestness and diligence in proclaiming the true evangelical doctrine of forgiveness granted through Christ, to all such as seek it contritely at the foot of His Cross. At the

same time, we should endeavour to cultivate Christian open-heartedness among our brethren, and to exercise it ourselves, and to shew a readiness in giving "ghostly counsel and advice" to all such as especially need it.

I have said thus much on these two points, because, so far as we have means of judging, several of the recent converts to Romanism, and of those amongst them who have had the most serious motives for their act, seem to have been attracted by what they deemed the more devotional character of the Romish worship, and by the hopes of finding help in the confessional for the struggle against their sins. In both these motives we have found the same characteristics, a very reprehensible wilfulness, and arbitrary exercise of private judgement in matters in which the individual has no right to determine for himself, and a want of faith in spiritual realities, in the privilege which Christ has obtained for His people, of worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth, and of seeking and receiving forgiveness from the Father through our one Mediator and Intercessor. On the other things mentioned above, as having exercised an influence in promoting the recent secessions, the time will not allow me, nor can it be needful, to say more than a very few words. That any persons should have arisen in our age to advocate the compulsory celibacy of the clergy, after the evidence which eight centuries have supplied of the revolting profligacy which it infallibly produces, is a proof of the wanton recklessness with which our divines in these days play at nine-pins, so to say, with truths, setting them up to display their skill in knocking them down. In Romish countries we hear numbers crying out for the abolition of the pestilent curse, which taints the very fountains of all social morality. But here in England,—partly from a fondness for paradoxes, and partly from that

spirit of dilettantism, which an eminent writer has noted to be one of the principal characteristics of our age, and which judges of institutions and practical measures by their beauty, or by their aptness to awaken poetical sentiment, not as though they were realities to be handled and grappled with, and employed in the weekday drudgery of actual life, but as if they were works of art to be gazed at and talked about,—through this spirit, which is above all mischievous and debasing, when it intrudes into matters pertaining to religion, we have dilettanti admirers of celibacy. That such persons must be weak and shallow in faith is plain: for dilettantism is the very antipode to faith. But no less assuredly does the whole institution of celibacy, though good motives may at times have actuated its authors and upholders, proceed, like the other errors of Gnosticism and Manicheism, from a want of faith in the spiritual character of good, in the purity and sanctity of all God's ordinances, and in the power of the spirit to bring the flesh into subjection, through the victory of Him by whom the Prince of this world was judged.

And does not the desire to set up the idol of an infallible earthly authority in the Church evince a want of faith in the self-manifesting power of Truth, and in the abiding presence of the Spirit who was to guide the Church to the whole truth? If the promise of the Spirit were not given to us, then we might perhaps need a human umpire to arbitrate in all controversies on matters of faith. No fables ever devised by man, not even the wildest in the Indian or Scandinavian mythology, are grosser fictions than that of papal infallibility: yet this is the weapon wherewith the Irrationalists of our times think they shall overcome Rationalism. But their hopes will assuredly be baffled. Reason will overcome Rationalism; but nothing else will: the right use of Reason

will correct and overpower the abuse of Reason : Reason working in unison with Faith will conquer Reason working without and against Faith.

When I began I meant to speak to you about the strange explanation or apology which has recently been set forth for the peculiarities of Romanism by the leader of the late schism, where they are defended on the ground of their being developments, as they are termed, of the primary principles of Christianity. But the time will not allow me to enter upon this subject, which cannot be discust summarily. Perhaps too, such a discussion could not well be carried on in a manner suitable to the present occasion. Nor is it of such general interest as the topics of which I have been speaking, except so far as it derives an interest from the accidental circumstances attending its being brought forward. In fact it is hard to believe that any one, even that the author himself, has really been influenced by the arguments urged in that apology. The reasoning therein, however ingenious it may be, can only be regarded, it seems to me, as an accessory after the fact. I cannot, indeed, agree with those who are scared by the use thus made of the notion of development in justifying what they have been accustomed to account gross and pernicious errors, and whose terror makes them shrink from the thought that there has been any development in Christianity. Surely our Lord's declarations concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, where He likens it to seed, to a grain of mustard-seed that is to spring up and become a great tree, to leaven by which the whole lump is to be leavened, do not merely refer to the outward diffusion of the Gospel in space, to the spreading of Christianity over the earth. They also mean that the whole man, yea, that the whole of human nature, is to be leavened, all our feelings, and all our thoughts,

all our poetry, and all our philosophy, and all our history, and all our science. Surely these are among the kings of the earth that are to bow down to Christ: over all these the Gospel is to reign as King of kings and Lord of lords. And is not the same thing implied in the promise, that the Comforter shall lead us to the whole truth, shall teach us the many things which Christ had to tell us, but which we were unfit to hear? For, I trust, you would not limit the abiding of the Comforter, either in this or in any other of His manifold offices, to our Lord's immediate disciples. Surely the promise extends to all ages of the Church; and hereupon do we build our confidence that she will abide in the truth in spite of all the assaults and artifices of the Father of lies. We are not, indeed, to look for any new revelation. In leading us to the truth, the Comforter, in all ages, has only taken the things of Christ, and shewn them to us, developing and unfolding the infinite riches of truth contained in the Gospel, shewing it to us in its numberless relations, in its adaptation to all the circumstances, all the wants, every possible condition of mankind. I cannot understand how any one who has the slightest knowledge of the history of the Church, of the state of religious opinion, of dogmatic theology in various ages, can deny that there have been continual developments of religious truth, in the sense just described, eliciting of the oak, whose branches are to spread over the earth, out of the acorn, in which they lay in the germ. Nor can I see what danger we have to apprehend from such a belief, so long as it is combined with the belief that the Spirit of Truth is still abiding in the Church, enlightening and guiding us, if we seek His light and guidance, and still continually taking of the things of Christ, and shewing them to us. Of course many things may be called developments of Christian truth, which are not so.

In every path man is prone to go astray. Thus of late we have had a variety of developments set before us, which verily seem much as though a conjuror were developing a hundred yards of ribbon out of a walnut ; or as when Swift, in caricaturing the developments of etymology, deduces King Piper from Hotspur. But such extravagances need not disturb us, except with compassion for him who utters them. Our intellectual faculties remain to us ; nor does it require any extraordinary clear-sightedness to pierce through such delusions ; and if we seek in faith for a higher illumination, we shall obtain it. With reference to the things which are now palmed upon us as developments, and which we are required to accept as such, let me observe that the march of thought, in all its regions, is progressive ; the human mind cannot walk crab-wise ; we cannot pare down our stature, and put on the worn-out, cast-off clothes of former years. We cannot rise above our philosophy by taking up the horn-book again. Dilettantism will amuse itself with antiquarian resuscitations, and deck itself out with modern antiques. But practical life requires its own growths, and that which is conformable and congenial thereto. In ages when intellectual and moral energy is almost effete, like that of Hadrian, people will, indeed, attempt to revive exploded superstitions, even as they may affect archaisms of language. But even then the revived superstition was no more like the reality, than a skeleton is like the living body which once clothed it. That which has once been exploded cannot again become a part of the organic structure of society. You might as well sow a husk, or expect a chicken from an empty egg-shell. For this reason, as well as from my firm conviction that the truth is with us, and not with Rome, in the matters controverted between the two Churches, I cannot myself anticipate that

the Church of Rome will ever triumph over ours. To many, I believe, it has been a consolation during the last year, that, while Rome has been gaining strength by the recent schism in England, she has been losing strength, in a far greater degree, numerically, by the schism of an opposite tendency in Germany. But, for my own part, I grieve to say that I cannot look with any kind of satisfaction on that schism. One of the greatest living Protestant divines in Germany said to a friend of mine, with reference to this schism, that Romanism, along with a belief in Christ, seemed to him far better than the rejection of Romanism, when accompanied by the rejection of the belief in Christ. This seems, so far as I have been able to learn, to be lamentably the predominant character of the new schism. Nay, even with regard to Rome, as her most formidable enemy has ever been a living faith, so, on the other hand, it is not likely that she will suffer much from a schism proceeding from any other principle. After a while, it is probable, some sort of religious longings will arise ; for society will hardly hold together without some such ; and these, when there is no strong principle of faith, will naturally incline Romeward. Rather, so far as my very scanty information enables me to form a judgement, should I augur good to the cause of Christian truth, from the desire for religious knowledge which appears to have been awakened recently in several provinces of France, and which is said to have led to the establishment of large evangelical congregations in a number of parishes, where, a few years ago, not a single Protestant was to be found. And even after all the deductions which must be made, in consequence of the alloy and dross ever mixt up in every undertaking wherewith man is concerned, there does seem to be a better spirit moving about and stirring among the nations of Europe, from which

we may hope that the Author of all good will, in His own time, bring forth what He sees to be for the good of His Church. Only let us each in his station, do our part in simplicity and earnestness and love ; and let us be assured that they who follow the example of the Rechabites, and obey the commandments, and keep the precepts of their fathers, shall share in the blessing bestowed on the Rechabites.

The deep overpowering interest which seems to me to attach to the subject on which I have been speaking, has led me on nearly to the utmost limits that I must needs set to my address to you ; and yet how small a part have I said of what might well have been said ! how many topics have I been compelled to pass over, and even on those on which I have toucht, how meagre and scanty have my remarks been ! That your interest, my reverend brethren, has gone along with me, in the chief part of what I have been saying, I would fain hope ; for to all of you, I cannot but believe, the recent acts of schism must have furnisht much deep and anxious thought, much pain and perplexity. One question they suggest to all of us : how are we to act in consequence of them ? how is our own conduct to be modified, so that we may not, in any way, furnish occasion for fresh offences, but may remove all such occasion so far as in us lies ; nay, may do all that in us lies to prevent others from falling into the same offence ? And here, it seems to me, and I trust you will concur with me, one line of conduct is utterly reprehensible and condemnable, that to which I have alluded, of provoking our brethren, whose views on certain ecclesiastical and theological questions differ from our own, to leave us, that of taunting them with dishonesty if they do not. Rash, ignorant zealots, whose heads are hotter than their hearts, self-constituted popes, whose first article of faith is their own infallibility,

and the second, the damnable heresy of all who differ from them, have often been scattering such fire-brands about. Let it be our rule, my brethren, to eschew such conduct. The time may come, when He who reads the heart may say to him who seems, to the outward eye, still hovering on the brink of evil, *That which thou doest, do quickly*. But even that was not uttered until all the power of Divine love had been tried, until that love had even humbled itself to wash the feet of him who was to commit the horrible treason, and to feed him with the sacred symbols of the sacrifice offered up for mankind. And even those words do not provoke the crime ; they do not decide what the traitor is to do ; they merely urge him to a prompt decision, and that too, immediately after everything had been done to soften his heart. This is the Divine pattern of what our conduct ought to be toward all such as we suppose to be likely to fall into any sin. We should wash their feet, we should minister to them in every way in our power ; we should endeavour, by devoted love and patient reasoning, to convince them of their error, and to win them back to the truth ; then, but not till then, may we say, *That which thou doest, do quickly*. And as we shall never believe that we have done anything at all comparable to what Divine love did for Judas, as the Christian will ever feel that he might do far more in washing the sinner's feet, far more in ministering to him, the time will never come when the Christian will think himself justified in saying to any one, whom he conceives to be meditating a sinful act, *That which thou doest, do quickly*. The strange inconsistency is, that the very persons who would urge their erring brethren to go over to Rome, are the very persons who deem such an act utterly heinous and reprobate. Yet, if they suspected a man of cherishing too warm an affection for

the wife of his friend, would they urge him to commit adultery? If they saw him brooding over some insult that he had received, would they bid him commit murder? Surely, my brethren, if any of us see a man, especially a young man, over-indulgent to the errors of Romanism, and most of those who are so are among the young,—if we suspected him of not feeling a proper repugnance to the idolatrous practices of Popery,—the rule for our conduct is laid down in that verse of St. Paul, *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye who are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness.* Let us try, with our better knowledge, in the spirit of love, to shew our brethren what pernicious consequences have proceeded from the practices which they regard with too much complacency; and, at the same time, as I have said already, let us endeavour, so far as in us lies, to shew them how all that is lawful and right in any irregular wishes they may feel, will find its due food and nourishment in our Church, free from the dangers which encompass their excesses.

On the other hand, should there be any amongst you, my brethren, who feel a sympathy with the general body of those opinions, through the exaggeration of which so many have recently fallen into the Roman schism, to them I would say, that they ought to regard the events of the last year as a grave warning and caution. They are admonished thereby of the evils to which those opinions, when pushed to extremes, lead. The main body of those opinions, I have maintained in my former Charges, is perfectly compatible with a loyal allegiance to the Church of England; and I have referred above to the conclusive evidence of this afforded by the history of our Church in the reign of Charles the First. Still, those opinions express but one side, the outward side, if I

may so say, of Christianity. They are concentrated almost entirely and exclusively in the Church, which is indeed the body of Christ, but is only His body; and even that may be turned into an idol, if we do not regard it continually in its union with Him who is its Head, and its lifegiving Spirit. In everything our nature is carnal, and is prone to slip down from every spiritual height, and to cling and cleave to that which is carnal. It regards the outside, the carnal, the body, as the main thing, forms, institutions, ordinances, the letter of the law. Every one knows how apt men are to take carnal views of the sacraments, and they who reprove such in their neighbours are perhaps themselves taking views no less carnal of them from another point. Therefore, it behoves us to be always on our guard, lest we be drawn into some of these besetting errors, which have even led men to carnalize heaven and hell. They especially, who have been induced to take a deep and very justifiable, or at least pardonable, interest in matters relating to the externals of the Church, its forms and institutions and ordinances, or even things still more external and accidental, but excusable objects of literary curiosity and interest, its architecture and other decorations, should take warning from the events of the last year, and learn what noxious errors may flow from the indulgence of their allowable tastes, if they do not at the same time, recognize the deeper, higher truths which alone give life and power and sanctity to all this body of ecclesiastical knowledge. Above all is their danger great, if they are led by a spirit of controversy against what they regard as the opinions of an opposite party, to neglect the truths involved in those opinions while contending against their exaggerations and distortions. To restore a sound balance, when it has been once lost, may indeed be difficult for a

student in a college, where all his pursuits make him attach an exclusive value to what is intellectual and historical. But for you, my brethren, this is much less difficult. So far as outward helps go, you have everything. The devotion to your parochial duties, the intercourse with the poor, the manifold struggles you will have to wage with unbelief and other forms of sin, must bring you, if you do give yourselves heartily to your work, to see that there are other things in Christianity beside that which is ecclesiastical and historical, that there are far mightier powers, the Gospel of mercy, and the Spirit of grace and truth, that it is with these mighty divine realities that we have to deal, that by the help of these we can fight against sin and conquer it, both in ourselves and in others, but that without these we are nothing.

I am afraid, my reverend brethren, my hourglass must be more than run out ; and I must not encroach longer on your patience. Thus I am compelled to pass over the other topics suggested by the events of the past year, though several of them are of considerable interest. Else I would gladly have expressed my satisfaction, wherein I should have felt confident of receiving a response from you, that the Bill for the preservation of the two North Welsh Bishoprics, in behalf of which we have sent up our petitions year after year to the Legislature, has been past in the last week by the Upper House of Parliament. At this very late period of the session, the Bill may not improbably be dropt in the House of Commons. Still the measure I trust, is practically carried. Indeed for my own part, I never felt a doubt that if the Church persevered in expressing her wishes with the firmness and calmness which become her, our prayer, the justice and reasonableness and expediency of which are so manifest, would eventually be granted. If the preservation of the two

North Welsh Sees were to prevent the establishment of a new See at Manchester, our satisfaction would not be unmixt. But I trust it will only hasten it. The opinions exprest in the recent discussions by many persons, even by some whom we might not previously have numbered among the warm friends of the Church, entitle us to hope that what has long been an object of ardent desire with those who wish to increase her practical efficiency will at length be accomlisht, and that ere many years pass away, we shall see a large addition made to the English Episcopate. Three or four years ago I was askt by a brother Clergyman, whether we might venture to petition for an additional See at Manchester? I replied, Ask for fifty additional Sees, and we shall get them. This was thought a piece of wild extravagance at the time, but already we see this extravagance emerging into the region of practicability, and when so many wonders are wrought every day in the physical world, why should we despair of this, or even of far greater things, if we do but rightly consider Who and what is for us? In truth I believe that, as has often been seen in history, they who seek for great things are likelier to gain them, than they who seek for little things. Only set high and grand aims before you, and you will rouse men's hearts to sympathize with, and to help you. Some persons may count it improbable that a boon, which was repeatedly withheld from us by a Government supposed to be friendly to the Church, should be granted by those whom we were accustomed to consider as regarding us with less favourable eyes. But it is anticipated in various quarters, that one of the results, an incidental but almost inevitable one, of the policy pursued by our recent Administration, must needs be to break up that whole system of parties by which the commonwealth of England has so long been directed, or

rather often distracted. If so, whatever we may think of the other effects of that policy, I trust we shall all agree that this will be an inestimable blessing.

Few thoughtful persons can have watcht the ordinary course of public affairs in England, without continually groaning in spirit, to see how the time and the faculties of the Legislature are wasted in endless contentions between the holders of office and the claimants, and how the good of the nation has been postponed or neglected, while opposite parties have been hurling their missiles to and fro at each other. Surely then it will be a great blessing, if our Legislature be brought to the conviction, that it is not designed to be the arena for the gladiatorial exhibitions of political warfare, but that its great duty and purpose is, for all its members to unite in proposing and weighing and digesting such measures as may promote the welfare, moral and spiritual, as well as temporal, of the whole nation ; and may counteract the manifold evils which a high state of wealth and civilization is sure to breed. At all events, my reverend brethren, it behoves us to cherish and to act upon this conviction. Our office removes us far away from the contests of parties, and ought to lift us far above them. We are the ministers, not of a party, but of the whole people gathered into the Church of Christ, and we are bound to love and serve and aid one party just as much as another. Nor can we render them many better services than by helping them to get rid of party spirit. We ought thankfully to welcome whatever may be done for the good of the Church, and to join heartily in furthering it, from whatever party it may proceed. Some measures, it may be, will be brought forward, of which many, perhaps all of you will disapprove. Such measures it will of course be our

duty to oppose. Let not this however, render us less thankful for those measures of which we otherwise should approve. The opinions exprest, on the occasions above referred to, warrant us in believing that though several members of the present Administration may not entertain those views which are most prevalent among the Clergy with regard to divers important ecclesiastical matters, still they are sincerely desirous of increasing the practical moral and spiritual efficiency of the Church. And surely this ought to be our main object also.

Gladly, too, would I have spoken to you about the consecration of the second Bishop of our Church at Jerusalem, at which ceremony I had the privilege and happiness of being present. So many of you exprest a deep sympathy with the joy which I felt at the first establishment of that Bishopric, so many of you adopted the measures which I recommended for the sake of testifying our satisfaction and thankfulness, that, since most of you must be aware how that Bishopric has been the object of continual, and many of them virulent attacks, and how very grave charges have been brought against the religious and moral character of some of the persons principally connected with it, I feel in a manner bound to assure you that those charges are in the main utterly groundless, and draw their sting almost entirely from the grossest misrepresentations. The proofs of this I cannot bring forward here. I can only request you to take my assertion on credit. But I feel it my duty to you and to the Church, as well as to myself and to the persons accused, to seize an early opportunity of setting forth these proofs in detail.

Another question which is forcing itself upon us more irrepressibly every year, is that which relates to the education

of the English people. But this I must wholly decline, merely recommending that you should look at whatever measures may be proposed for the more effectual accomplishment of this great work, not merely with reference to what we should think desirable in an imaginary or ideal state of things, but with reference to the great practical exigencies resulting from the actual condition of the English people. From one end of England to the other, the same voice sounds, which demands education—a sound, practical, moral and religious education. They who utter the cry know not its meaning; indeed, their words may be the very reverse, but no voice clamours so loudly for it in the ears of Christian wisdom as that which obstinately rejects it.

And now, before I take leave of you, my reverend brethren, I must hold out a hand of affectionate welcome to those among you who are come this year for the first time to our Annual Visitation, in consequence of the incorporation of the Peculiars in the Diocese. This measure, I trust, will prove beneficial to all parties. There may in this, as in other respects, have been advantages of old in the rich variety which characterized the whole organic structure of society as it arose in the middle ages. At all events, that variety had an ample justification in the circumstances out of which it originated. But the forms of the understanding are less rich and various than those of the imagination; and, as the understanding is the predominant power in our age, the tendency is in all things towards uniformity and centralization. Practically too, this tendency if not carried too far, seems to be the most favourable to good government and administration. At all events, in the present instance, it seems to me that it must needs be desirable and expedient that the Clergy, who are bound together by the ties of neighbourhood and

social intercourse, should also be united in the same ecclesiastical system, so as to labour together in those good works which especially belong to the Church, and which, in proportion as our ecclesiastical system becomes riper and more vigorous, will naturally take a diocesan character. The way for this change had already been prepared by the reception of the Clergy of the Peculiars into our Rural Chapters, at which it has always been a particular pleasure to me to meet them. Those Chapters I am aware, like every other institution, have not produced as much good as they might have done, if we all did our best to draw good out of them. But still I would fain hope that the Clergy of the Peculiars have already felt, in some degree, that it was well for them to be united in this manner with their brethren; and now that they are placed under the ecclesiastical superintendence and guardianship of our Bishop, the benefits of our union, and of our co-operation with each other, will, I trust, become manifestly greater.

Nor can I refrain from giving utterance to the happiness which I feel, on this occasion, at seeing the most illustrious person of this neighbourhood coming to this Visitation* in the capacity of Churchwarden of his Parish. To us who are acquainted with him, it is no surprize that he should know where true honour is to be found. But assuredly it would be a blessed day for England if all her aristocracy and gentry were in like manner, to recognize and act upon the divine principle, that he who would be great amongst men should become their servant. Then, at length, might the Church approach to the fulfilment of her heavenly calling, if they who are first in rank and wealth and influence would come forward

¹ At Lewes, the Earl of Chichester. ED.

in every parish, feeling that the most honourable office they could discharge is that of lay elders in the Church of Christ. To this honourable office you, my friends, who are come as Churchwardens to this Visitation, are specially called, and to you I must now say a very few closing words.

Your patience, I much fear, has been heavily taxed; and many of you may probably have thought that you were no way concerned in the chief part of what I have been saying. But surely my friends, this is not so. Surely you too, are loyal and affectionate sons of the Church of England. Surely you too, would revolt from the thought, that the idolatries and superstitions of Popery should ever again gain ground amongst us. Moreover you too, are called to bear your part in the great work of keeping them out. And this you are to do, not merely like every other Englishman, by your own dutiful and loving attachment to the Church of your fathers, by joining in her worship, and praying to God for her prosperity, but your office itself imposes this duty in a special manner upon you. For it is a complaint, perpetually urged by the persons who compare the Church of England with the Romish Church, to the detriment of the former, that we do not shew or feel a sufficient reverence for sacred things. Now with regard to that which is spiritual and truly essential in religion, this charge, I would reply, is unfounded. But can we say the same thing with regard to what is outward? or, to come to the point which immediately concerns you, can we say the same thing with regard to the house of God? Most of you might probably answer, that you cannot tell, that you have never been in a Romish country, and do not know how the Churches are cared for there. But, at all events, you have one means of judging before your eyes in your own parish. You can there see

what reverence our ancestors felt for the house of God, when they built our grand and beautiful Churches, how they spared no cost in building them, how they exercised their minds to make them suitable for their purpose, and full of symmetry and beauty. Now do we in these days shew the same reverence in keeping them up, in preserving them from injury, in repairing and restoring such parts as may have fallen into decay? I am very thankful to say, my friends, that considerable improvements in these respects have taken place within the last few years. In several of our Churches restorations have been undertaken on a large scale, and sometimes with much judgement, mostly with a desire to do right, which after all, is the main thing. In a number of Churches works have been begun, and are carried on by degrees. For all this I feel thankful. If we call to mind however, what almost all our country Churches were twenty years ago, and how they were patcht up without any regard to propriety, and with the cheapest materials, we must needs confess that the reverence for God's house had sadly past away from amongst us. You will hardly tell me that we were become too spiritual to care for such things. We did not shew any of this spiritual disregard of externals in our own houses or furniture or apparel, in anything that flattered our pride or ministered to our luxury; even our stables, nay, our very dog-kennels, were better taken care of than our Churches. Still too, my friends, a great deal remains to be done in almost every parish, before we can bring back our Churches to the state in which they were when our ancestors first set them up to be the glory and blessing of our land. Yet till this is done, it can hardly be said that we feel as much reverence for the house of God as they did. Now this is your special business, my friends; your office calls you to redeem the people of England from

the imputation of irreverence towards the house of God. Another complaint too, which is often made, and in which you are likewise concerned, is that, while the Romish Churches are open to the whole body of the people, without distinction of persons, ours are almost always crammed with large pens or pews, all the best of which are doled out to the richest persons in the parish, so that the poor, who ought to have the best seats, and most need them, are shoved to the outskirts, and often cannot even find room there, so that they are in a manner driven to some meeting-house. On this point, as you well know, I have often spoken to you before, and I will therefore say no more on it to-day, except to remind you that, by getting rid of closed pews, you will also get rid of one of the great blemishes which disgrace our Church in comparison with that of Rome.

These things are, indeed, outward, but, as I have shewn you, they have an inward meaning and value, and they are the special business of your office. Do your duty, my friends, in these respects, and in everything else which pertains to your office. Do your duty diligently and faithfully, as Churchwardens and as men. Set a good example to your parishes. Do what you can to put down immorality, be kind, be liberal, be helpfull: above all, be yourselves a pattern to the people, in your regular and devout attendance at Divine worship. Join heartily in the communion of prayer and praise, and then you will have performed your part to prevent the spread of Popery in England.

O if we did but all unite, each in his station, to do the Lord's work with all our heart and soul and mind, then we may be assured would the promise of the ancient Prophet be fulfilled—*The voice of joy and the voice of gladness would be heard in the land, the voice of the Bridegroom, even of the*

Heavenly Bridegroom, *and the voice of the Bride*, the Church, *the voice of them that say, Praise the Lord of Hosts, for His mercy endureth for ever ; and of them that shall bring the sacrifice of praise unto the house of the Lord !*

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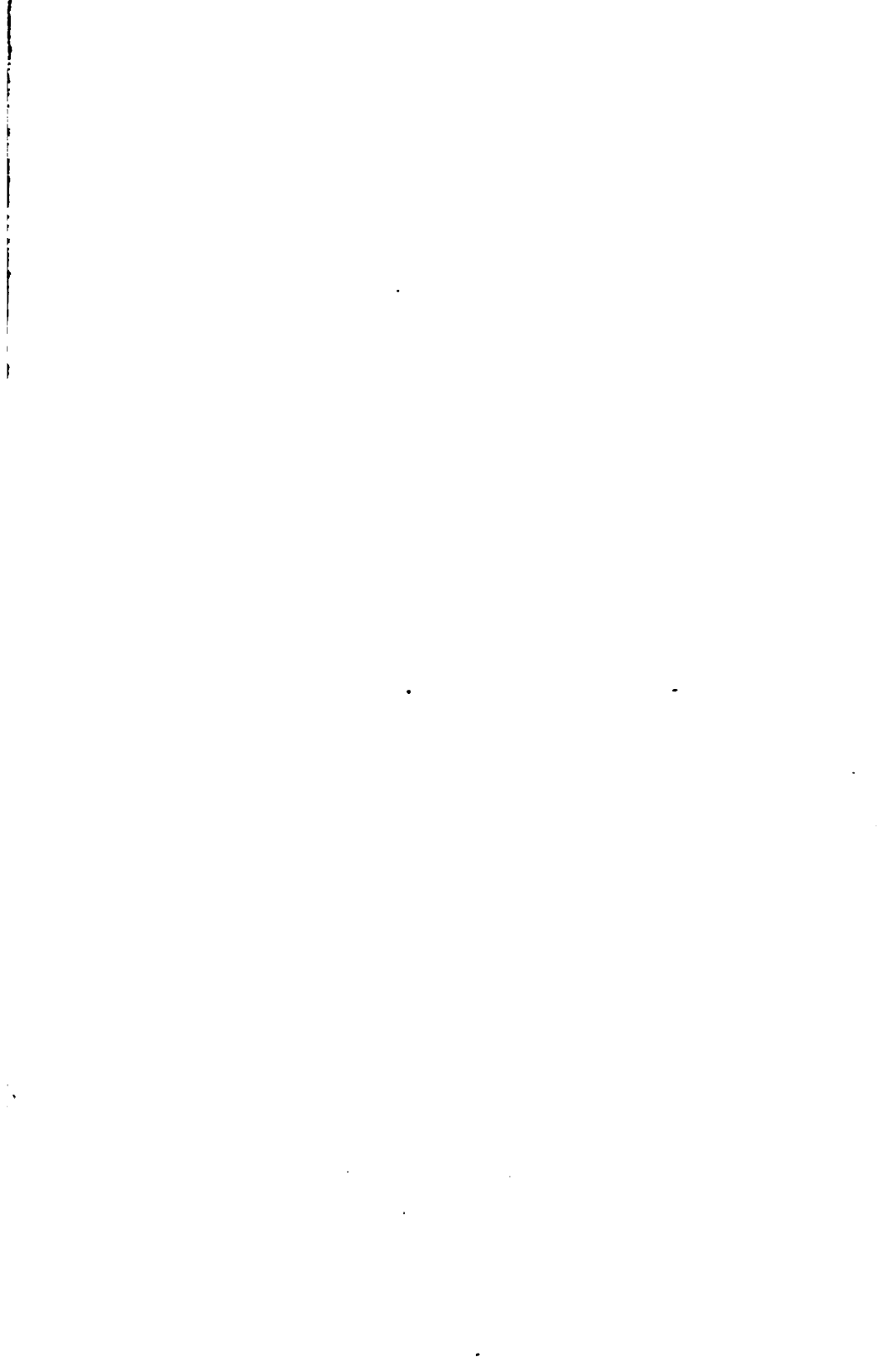
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